EARLY MUSIC

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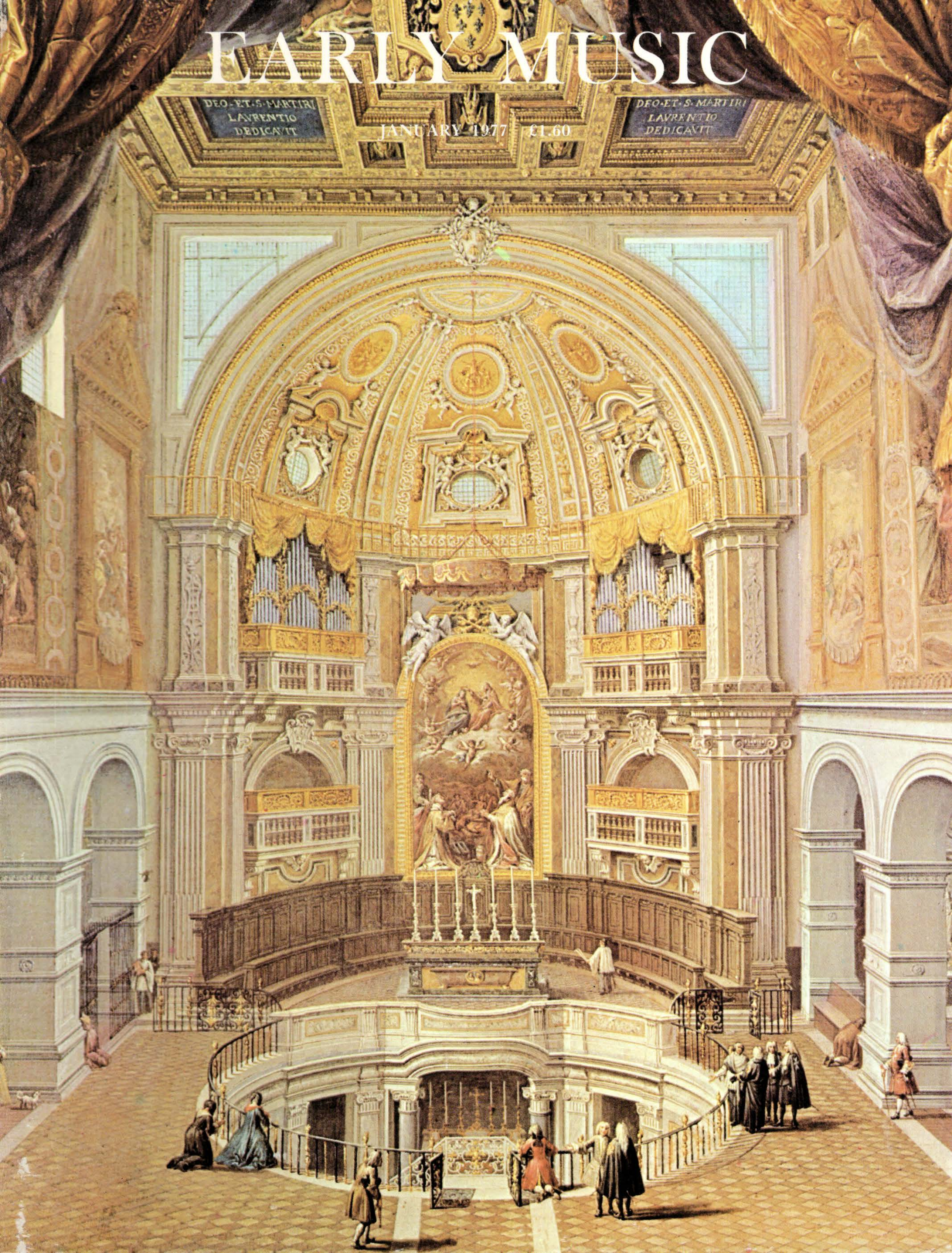

SCREWED UP HARPSICHORDS

SCREWS have been around for a long time. The Romans seem to have used them. Certainly they were used in Europe in the fifteenth century, to hold armour together, and by the sixteenth century in clocks. Wood screws seem to have been common articles by the mid-sixteenth century.

Modern harpsichords are full of screws. A jack bottom screw to regulate the height of the jack, a tongue screw to regulate the quill, a screw to regulate the damper. And capstan screws, and wood screws to hold the case together. Hundreds of screws.

Those who use all these screws, particularly for the jacks, brag about their 'fully adjustable action'.

Pity poor old Bach, who played on a harpsichord without screws. For although screws were used for many things, even the hinges of harpsichords, none were used in the action of the harpsichord until the present century.

One somehow doubts that Bach, or Couperin—least of all Scarlatti—put up with anything less than perfection in the action of their instruments. However did they manage without screws? And granted that they did, would they not have preferred the 'infinite adjustability' that the screw provides?

Infinite adjustability provides an infinity of wrong adjustment—and only one right one. There is one right position for the tongue, for the quill, for the jack. One right position of the jack below the string. One right position for the registers. Why not put things right in the first place, and leave them be?

Of course, a harpsichord is made of wood, and in wet weather the instrument grows a very little wider and a very little longer—even if you avoid plywood (which, believe it or not, makes them stretch and shrink even more). The soundboard rises and falls. And all this motion may indeed affect the distances between jacks and strings. True enough.

If the quills are long enough they will always reach the string. And if the guides are loose enough the jack will always repeat. And if the quills are cut correctly, the stagger cannot be lost. No need to feel sorry for the old boys. On the contrary, they would feel sorry for us always having to twist screws every time the weather changed.

At Zuckermann Harpsichords, we envied the old boys their trouble-free actions, and decided to follow their example. We took away all the screws, and made the jacks ride freely in the guides, either by enlarging the slots in the lower guide, or by tapering the jacks. An added reward for doing things right is a noticeable improvement in tone—the string is released sideways instead of being lifted and dropped. We still have the screws, and we'd love to sell them to someone. But not for use in harpsichords. The old builders knew what they were doing.

While we were at it, we got rid of the screw-threads on our tuning pins. Why should one screw out a tuning pin when the tapered pin used by all the old builders comes out so easily—and doesn't destroy the wrestplank when you put it back in? We put on our bottoms with square cut nails—which hold as well as screws and save all that screwing.

Screws are wonderful things. Wouldn't want to make a watch without them. But they do nothing at all for harpsichords, save to screw up the action.

DAVID J. WAY, *President*

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Cover: This anonymous painting in the style of Giovanni Paolo Pannini (1695-1768), now in the Museo di Roma, shows Bernini's apse in the Basilica of San Lorenzo in Damaso. The apse, inaugurated in 1640, was commissioned by Cardinal Francesco Barberini to serve as an auditorium for ecclesiastical music. Giovanni Battista Doni recounted in 1647 that he had successfully opposed Frescobaldi's recommendation that the organ be tuned in equal temperament—an opinion which Frescobaldi was induced to support (according to Doni) by frequent and gratuitous beverages consumed in the company of an old man in rags from Sicily and Calabria, who knew nothing except how to play the harpsichord. Music under the patronage of Cardinal Ottoboni was performed here by Corelli and his associates. The Bernini Basilica was destroyed by fire, but the church (re-built—horribly—in the 19th century) is still extant in the same place.

MARK LINDLEY

See Mark Lindley's article 'Instructions for the clavier diversely tempered' on page 18.

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'The future of early music in Britain'

In an age when conferences have become an industry and talking about the arts an occupational disease it may seem hazardous to add still another meeting to a crowded calendar. Yet from discussions and face-to-face contact great steps can be made. Even in London it is possible to be remote, to nourish and cherish in isolation, ideas untouched by the creative friction of submission to a more general assembly. This has been so in the world of early music where many performers did not quite fit into existing musical institutions, were not at home in learned societies and needed to mould some new kind of ambience, in which to flourish and prosper.

It is a tribute to the changed status and increasing self-confidence of early music over the past few years that it is now possible to organize a conference on the subject, financed by a grant from the Gulbenkian Foundation. In May 1977 a three-day conference will be held in the Waterloo Room of the Royal Festival Hall on 'The future of early music in Britain'.

Already the organizing committee has spent many hours in discussion so that the most vital issues can be brought forward. Here is an opportunity to attract and involve a wide spectrum of people, especially those to whom the term 'early music' is still a general package concealing shrouded goods. This applies particularly to arts administrators, educational authorities and potential patrons. Unlike Holland, which must have the most integrated music education system in Europe (except perhaps for Hungary), Britain has always acted pragmatically in the arts, with a wayward disregard of its traditions, which only too often ensures that originality and imagination remain buried and impotent. On the other hand, Britain's individualism, gift for forming societies (to say nothing of committees), for tolerant dialectics, has meant that it is an admirable context for wide-ranging discussion. The Conference, therefore, may not be another mausoleum of pious prophesies; so far, the auguries are good.

What will be discussed? At the moment there are at least nine major areas for investigation. The question of rehearsal time in medieval, renaissance and baroque performance will be considered, closely allied to problems of editing and preparation of material (and here the scholars will have their say). How to commission and form proper families and consorts of instruments (a consort of renaissance viols for instance), will be looked at, as well as restoration, a subject far less advanced here than on the continent. The early training of instrument makers is another important point. Britain probably has more individual instrument makers proportionately than elsewhere, but this can mean diffusion of knowledge and indeed prevent the consolidation of experience into anything that might be called a tradition, especially in the absence of parallels to the guild and craft apprenticeship systems of the past.

In the baroque world the examples of Austria and Holland in the forming of baroque orchestras have been especially studied and the whole question of baroque orchestral playing will occupy one session. Never before has the problem, and the opportunity, been so immediate, so urgent. The quality of library and reference materials is another topic. Britain must also keep alive its contacts with Europe: projects for the

regular evaluation and absorption of new ideas and experience, the exchange of artists and teachers, will be discussed. Parochialism in this area is by no means confined to Britain. Finally, the Conference will try to formulate a pilot training scheme for early music in schools and consider what can be done to help develop early music in academies and colleges of music. The recent invigorating Schools Proms in London showed what exuberant talent exists, for an early music group took its place amidst a steel band, percussion group, brilliant dance band, string ensemble and full symphony orchestra.

With the publication of a report, and the enthusiasm, knowledge and skill of all those participating, including the originator of the project, Anthony Rooley, as Director of the Early Music Centre, the Conference should become a stimulus and reference point not only for Britain, but if it succeeds, for other countries and cultures.

*

As *Early Music* is now under full sail it has become possible for the editor to slip away temporarily to write a history of New Zealand music. This has been commissioned by the Queen Elizabeth II Arts Council of New Zealand and the Australasian Performing Right Association, and will be published by the Clarendon Press. *Early Music* will be edited for a time from Wellington, but the London office will be functioning as usual, in the good hands of a team who have already contributed so much.

*

Notes

We are very conscious that the difficulties in re-establishing the Activities section has meant an unfortunate hiatus and frustrated those who have kindly continued to send in material. By April this should be restored. Similarly, the Register of Early Music full list will appear in April instead of in this issue. To prepare it in January coincides with the most difficult period at the printer. Henceforth it will appear annually in April.

The 1975 photographic reprint in one volume (see the enclosed subscription form for details) will soon be followed by a reprint of 1976. Some individual copies of 1976 are still available from the Journals Department, including a larger number of the October issue, of which we had an extra 1000 printed to meet the expected demand. This means that every year, except 1974 and the current year, can be purchased as a single volume. 1974 should become available in the same way, shortly.

Renaissance music in modern notation

BERNARD THOMAS

Musicians in a gallery. Drawing in red chalk, pen and brown ink and brown wash. Attrib. to Doménico Canuti, Italn., 1620-84. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

This article is intended not for the musicologist involved in preparing editions, but for the user of such editions, particularly the intelligent amateur and the non-specialist musician: any professionals with experience of editing renaissance music will be already painfully aware of the problems I describe. My aim is to explain some of the difficult decisions that are involved in preparing performing editions, particularly of renaissance music (though many of the problems apply also to medieval and to baroque music), and to consider some of the possible effects of editorial decisions. To make the best use of any edition the performer needs to know exactly what is original and what is not. But unless he is actually involved in editing or arranging, it is difficult for him to get into the habit of thinking in these terms, and I strongly suspect that the majority of performers really have no idea to what extent they are being influenced by the many apparently trivial decisions taken by the editor (or the publisher) before the music reaches its public.

The central question facing the editor is how much to put in his edition. On the most obvious level, he has, theoretically, a wide interpretative choice when he approaches the original(s), ranging from the *Urtext* that does not alter any but the most obvious errors in the original, to the type of educational arrangement in which each note has a dot, dash or dynamic mark over it. In practice on this level, the decision tends to be based on current fashion: nowadays it is generally accepted that, apart from certain anthologies of an educational nature, serious performing editions of renaissance music should be free from editorial dynamics, articulation marks, etc., and that any interpretative suggestions should be separate. However, even in a very 'plain' edition, the same question of how far to go in any particular direction still arises, if on a much smaller scale, and there are far more subjective editorial decisions than may be realized.

One central problem in editing renaissance music is so obvious it may easily be overlooked: 'modern' (that is, post-19th-century, as distinct from experimental or avant-garde) notation, with its barlines, beams and many black notes, really reached its classical form in the 18th century, in an age of regular harmonic progressions and formalized figurations. It is not an ideal notation for renaissance music, based on asymmetrical rhythms and progressions. Is it necessary to change the original notation in modern editions, apart from correcting errors and supplying *musica ficta?* Although a quasi-facsimile in which the original parts are simply aligned may be suitable for professional

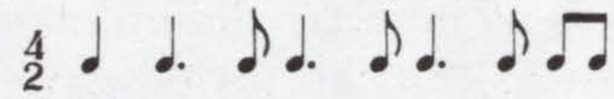
musicologists, it is certainly too specialized for musicians whose interests go beyond the Renaissance.

Given this assumption, an important notational problem arises. Unlike renaissance musicians we live in an age of standardized spelling and, generally, of precise musical notation.

The exaggerated respect that the average performer feels for the printed notes increases the editor's dilemma about how far to go in any particular direction, whether it be in adding accidentals, or whatever. Because performers are generally used to a notation which includes as much as possible, it is easy, when preparing an edition, to feel that on the one hand certain important points about performance will simply not occur to the average performer unless they are clearly put in above the music, and on the other that every purely subjective suggestion that one might make is going to be taken as gospel. A natural response to this situation is to make the editor desperately conservative—does he add too much or too little? My tentative solution is that it is a question of accustoming the performer, mentally, to separate editorial interpretation (which is largely hidden) from the essential information of the original. Under a few simple headings, I shall now try to show some of the solutions which an editor of renaissance music may adopt in answer to these problems.

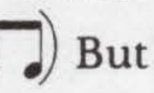
I Note values

The most drastic change in renaissance or medieval music is that of reducing original note values. This may seem a purely mechanical matter, but in practice the ratio of reduction can appreciably alter the performer's response. For instance, in early 16th-century music the editor may leave the original note values with the semibreve as the beat (this is unusual in performing editions today, presumably because modern performers are not used to thinking in such large note values), may halve them (minim beat) or may quarter them (crotchet beat). It is with the last of these that we really come up against the disadvantage of using modern, that is 18th/19th-century, notation for earlier music. For example the beams that join groups of four quavers make perfect sense in, say an 18th-century concerto with its chord change on each minim, but if this notation is applied to a piece by Josquin or Willaert we get a misleading picture of the music, as series of equal notes should be open to several different rhythmic interpretations. Moreover, it is comparatively unusual in early 16th-century music for phrases consisting of short notes to start on the beat. With triple time pieces the problem is more acute: the rhythm is unambiguously in $\frac{3}{4}$, and excludes the possibility of its being in $\frac{6}{8}$ (). In other words, by quartering the original note values, the editor commits himself to imposing his own particular rhythmic interpretation on the performer, something that may be acceptable for pedagogic purposes, but which is certainly problematic for a general edition. A quite common rhythm, which works out quite simply if put in $\frac{4}{2}$:



becomes unnecessarily complex in $\frac{4}{4}$, as there are several different possibilities, depending on the extent to which ties are used:

What tends to happen in practice is that editors assiduously search for cross-rhythms which may well be illusory, as in this example from Landini's *Che pena è quest' al cor:*

Here the lowest part is just as likely to be a simple $\frac{3}{4}$ () But if the music is transcribed in double these values, so that the minim is the beat, the problem disappears: it may, of course, occur with faster rhythms, but not as often.

Against this one must set the main objection to the minim beat transcription, which is that it can mislead the inexperienced into unnecessarily slow tempi. There are arguments for both types of transcription, but what is important is that the performer should be conscious of which ratio of reduction (if any) has been

used: I have come across many professional musicians who have been obviously influenced in their choice of tempi by the size of the note values in the edition that they have been using, simply because they have not realized what the editor has done. It may be worth summarizing the different note values in use during the Renaissance, ignoring for the moment those triple time sections that occur within mainly duple time pieces, as these are too complicated to go into here.

1. In practically all 15th-century and early 16th-century music the semibreve is the beat in the original notation. Nearly all modern editions of music written during the first half of this period, say up to about 1470, quarter the note values, resulting in a crotchet beat in most editions of music by such composers as Binchois, Dunstable and Dufay. The music of the next couple of generations (comprising figures such as Busnois, Josquin, Isaac, Compère, Mouton, etc.) is rather more complex rhythmically, and it is here that we really encounter the problems of beaming discussed above. Not surprisingly, both minim and crotchet beats are common in modern editions: quartered note values are particularly common in 'scholarly' editions (especially those American editions which rely mainly on libraries for their customers, and which are not intended to be accountable to performers), while many practical editions, particularly those produced in Germany, tend to use halved note values.

2. In much music of the second third of the 16th century, the pulse is still the semibreve in the original, but it is divided more often (suggesting that a slower tempo is required). Most modern editions of music in this category (which includes most of the chansons by composers like Claudin de Sermisy, Clément Jannequin, Pierre Certon, Thomas Crecquillon, most of the dances in the collections of Attaingnant, Susato and Phalèse, as well as the madrigals of Arcadelt, Verdelot, etc.) divide the note values by half.

3. Many factors, including the very lively traditions of improvisation and embellishment, as well as the introduction of greater rhythmic contrast between the sections of madrigals (e.g. those by Rore) and even chansons (e.g. Lassus), gradually led to a slowing down of the beat, so that by the end of the century most music was written in a minim beat. In most modern editions of late 16th- and early 17th-century music original note values are retained, but there are still some editions in which note values are halved. A further complication is that towards the end of the 16th century a distinction began to be made between modern, expressive and lively forms such as the madrigal and instrumental canzona on the one hand, and 'solemn' music such as motets, masses and instrumental ricercars (ensembles) on the other: pieces in the first category were generally written with a minim beat, while the older forms still used a semibreve pulse. Writers such as Morley and Praetorius make this distinction, which persisted right through the 17th century, though with note values one degree smaller.

II Barring

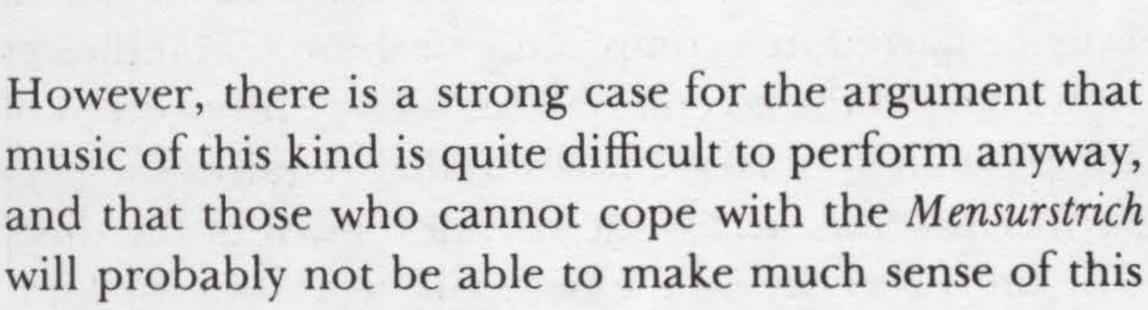
Having decided on what note values to use, the next problem is where to put the barlines (if any). There are several possibilities:

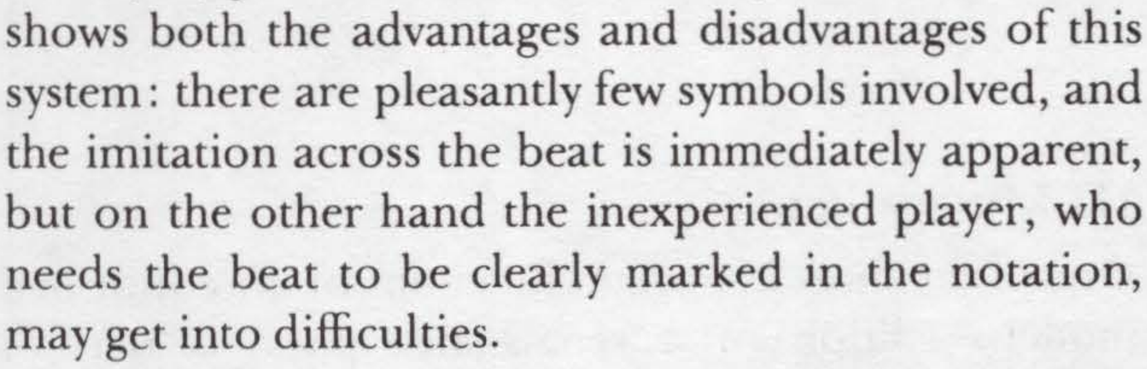
1. No barlines at all. The elegant simplicity of this method has been advocated by many musicologists, but for those other than professionals or particularly experienced amateurs the drawbacks are considerable. Music written without barlines could be made marginally easier to read by two technical devices: (a) the use of a proportional notation in which each beat has the same space regardless of how it is divided, so that if a quaver has 5mm space, a crotchet has 10mm and a minim 20mm (this would work out well if the music was printed on graph paper), (b) where parts are involved, making the end of each line coincide in all parts (a device that goes back to the 13th-century Bamberg Codex). But it is unlikely that editions without barlines will become widely used. An important objection is that those performers who can cope with the difficulties would be quite capable of reading from the original notation, and in this age of litho printing the simplest and cheapest[1] way of publishing early music is to print direct from the original.

2. The German *Mensurstrich* system, which uses barlines between the staves rather than across them, using the lines to mark off every second beat or so, with the actual notes written as if there were no barlines. This has most of the advantages of (1), but is easier to use, and is in fact in general use in many editions produced in Germany. It is hardly ever used in Britain, for reasons that can only be chauvinistic (the system is considered un-British by the Establishment, like referenda, men's purses, and talking loudly in restaurants). In fairness, there are some drawbacks, the main one being the difficulty of long syncopations, as in this passage from 'Die Katzenpfote' (*Glogauer*

Liederbuch), which has successfully baffled music-lovers for years:

However, there is a strong case for the argument that music of this kind is quite difficult to perform anyway, and that those who cannot cope with the *Mensurstrich* will probably not be able to make much sense of this sort of piece. The following passage from a two-part fantasy by Joan Maria Tasso[2] (first published in 1559) shows both the advantages and disadvantages of this system: there are pleasantly few symbols involved, and the imitation across the beat is immediately apparent, but on the other hand the inexperienced player, who needs the beat to be clearly marked in the notation, may get into difficulties.





Personally, I feel that the difficulties involved in playing from *Mensurstrich* editions can be overcome quite easily, given enough practice. It is a particularly good system for music written in a non-metrical and fairly elaborate rhythmic style, such as much Franco-Flemish music of *c*1500, and many instrumental fantasies right through to the 17th century.

3. The use of conventional barlines on the stave, but simply as a means of marking off the beats, rather than implying any accent. This method is very common, and often is taken so far that the same section can occur twice in a piece with the bar falling differently each time, as in the following two-part chanson from a modern edition of Rhaw's *Bicinia* of 1545:[3]

Sometimes, as in the above example, the editor makes clear the fact that barlines do not have their modern function, by printing them smaller, so as to cover only two spaces of the stave rather than all four. The problem is that many users of the editions do not realize the function of these negative barlines (only very rarely is their meaning explained in an edition), and consequently misunderstand the rhythmic structure of the music. The main advantage is that it is always clear where the beat is, so that in syncopated passages a performer who is a good reader but who is unused to methods (1) and (2) will be able to manage. There is

also a certain practical value in having the same number of beats in each bar, as some people are confused by changes of barring within a piece.

4. The use of barlines with more or less their modern meaning of implying accent: the problem here is that a large number of very subjective decisions are involved. The extent to which this system can work depends entirely on the style of music to which it is applied. It is clearly a good way of barring dance-music, assuming that the editor knows what metre the dances are in. (For an example of the confusion that can arise if he does not, see Giesbert's edition of the Susato dance book, in which triple-time *basse danses* and galliards are barred most confusingly in duple time, because he misunderstood the meaning of the original time-signature.) Actually, even with quite simple dances there can still be more than one intelligent way of barring them, depending on whether the aim is to reflect the dance-steps or to follow purely musical logic. In some types of comparatively simple vocal music, such as some of Claudin's chansons, it is quite possible to use bar lines as a means of indicating certain accents. The danger is that if one tries to show them all, one can end up with odd-sized bars with one-and-a-half or two-and-a-half beats in them, as in many of E. H. Fellowes' editions of English madrigals: these old editions also show up the dangers of too subjective an approach, as few musicologists nowadays would agree with all the places where he put the accents. A partial solution to this problem is to attempt to show only some of the accents, in other words to use quite long bars: this can work out quite well, as very often cross rhythms add up to four slow beats (for instance the configuration 3 2 3 at cadences), as in the beginning of Claudin's *Comment puis je departie*:[5]

But it is clear that even in comparatively simple music, barring in a 'meaningful' way is heavily dependent on the editor's subjective reaction to the music, and this is really the main disadvantage of even trying to bar intelligently: at least with the other methods it is obvious to anyone who thinks about it that the rhythm of a piece still needs to be interpreted by the reader. What many editors do nowadays is to use a basic bar of say two beats, and simply put in an occasional bar of three beats, in order to ensure that a phrase is barred the same way each time it happens, and to make as many cadences as possible coincide with the barline.

Applying barlines, in their modern sense, to more contrapuntal music can be really problematic. To take an extreme example, how is it possible to apply barlines in any logical way to a canon in which the time-interval between the entries is five beats?[6] In a case like this one can only try to bar in a way that makes sense for one of the canonic parts, not both; the same applies to polyphonic settings of popular tunes (as in the German *Tenorlied* repertoire), in which it is quite logical to follow the 'tune'. But in complex imitative music by such composers as Willaert, Josquin, etc., the editor really has only the first three methods at his disposal.

In practice, a large amount of renaissance music can only be barred in a compromise fashion that indicates only some of the accents, leaving a large proportion of the piece in a 'neutral' notation that requires the performer to think across the barlines much of the time. The onus is really on the reader to work out for himself what the barlines actually mean in any edition he comes across.

III Musica ficta

One of the most important functions of the editor in a modern edition of a renaissance piece is that of supplying the accidentals that would have been put in by the performers of the time as a matter of course. There is a large subjective element here, as we shall see. Editorial accidentals, which are nowadays normally shown above the stave or on the stave in brackets, divide into three main categories:

1. Indispensable accidentals (mostly flats) necessary to avoid certain forbidden intervals (chiefly diminished fifths/augmented fourths): these accidentals work on a mechanical level, in the sense that a normal piece of renaissance music will not function without them, yet there is still a subjective element in the editor's decision about where to put them, as there are many cases where one has the alternative of sharpening the

first of two notes as well as the more usual flattening of the second (typically in the interval F-B).[7]

2. Essential accidentals (mostly sharps) required by conventions of the time, chiefly leading-notes at cadences, and final chords of pieces. These are relatively unproblematic, as there is so much evidence from lute and keyboard intabulations as well as from contemporary writers. But even here there are no simple rules that work for all eventualities, and a strongly subjective element is still involved: it seems that in German music, for instance, sharpened leading-notes and final thirds were used much less than in other countries (this can be deduced from surviving tablatures for lute and viols, among other things). Also there are many cases where quasi-cadential progressions are involved, in which it is very much a matter of dispute whether the leading-note is sharpened.

3. Beyond this, *musica ficta* was largely a matter of individual and local taste, which changed to some extent over the years (so that, for instance, what I said above about German music does not apply to the late 16th century onwards): consequently, all editorial accidentals other than those in the two categories above are very much the result of the editor's knowledge of the particular style of music involved. It is of course possible, as I have suggested, to draw up general guide-lines according to time and place, though this only gives us a broad picture. I suppose in an ideal world an editor would spend ten years or so working on a short period of musical history within one genre in one country, gradually building up a policy that works consistently within the field chosen. But there would be drawbacks even to this, for the most important sources of information about *musica ficta*, tablatures for lute and viol (in which the performer is literally instructed where to put his fingers) are very often of a different nationality and period from that of the original piece. In fact to compare a number of different lute intabulations of a well-known chanson or madrigal is to receive a salutary lesson on the freedom of interpretation that existed during the Renaissance. Where a lute arrangement of a chanson or madrigal does exist, it is of course quite possible to incorporate the extra accidentals in an edition of the original, but all one is getting from this is the interpretation of one particular lutenist, who probably never knew the composer, and who might have learnt the piece by a very roundabout route. Ultimately the supplying of this kind of 'optional' *musica ficta* depends mainly on the editor's intuitive sense of the particular style involved. Thus it is up to the performer, who may have just as much (or more) intuitive feeling for the style of the music, to question editorial accidentals of this type. After all, an edition that indicated all the reasonably satisfactory alternatives would be incredibly fussy and confusing to play from.

IV Pitch

The immediately obvious pitch at which to print a performing edition is that of the original. But there are problems about this, as it is becoming increasingly clear that a number of transpositions were used in the Renaissance, depending on the forces used in a given piece. Praetorius, for instance, recommends certain transpositions for crumhorns[8] (down a fourth), flutes (down a tone in particular modes), and so on; there is also much evidence to suggest that a fairly sophisticated transposition system was in use in vocal music. A special (but quite common) problem is that of pieces using material borrowed from other works, whether as *canti firmi* in the 15th-century-manner, or pervading all the parts. For instance, the vast majority of mid-16th-century three-part chansons turn out to be arrangements of pre-existent pieces (usually in four parts originally). But it was conventional to write out the borrowed part or section or whatever at the same pitch as the original. So when Crecquillon,[9] for example, decided to write a three-part piece for three equal voices on the top part of Claudin's *Content desir*, he had it printed in three high clefs: only once does the lowest part go below middle C. Common sense would suggest that this written pitch has only a nominal significance—in fact there are several surviving examples in which adherence to the written pitch of the model had resulted in a clearly impractical pitch.[10] This may at first seem puzzling to us today, with our precise measurements and international pitch. But in the Renaissance, when pitches between different places could vary by as much as a third or fourth, the idea of representing an absolute pitch on paper would have seemed very strange. Given (a) the large number of clefs that were in regular use (treble, soprano, mezzo-soprano, alto, tenor, baritone and bass clefs were all common), (b) the use of the hexachord system in musical education, it would seem that renaissance musicians were trained more to think in terms of intervals, and would have been able to cope with the transpositions. But nowadays amateur musicians (who form the vast majority of the players of performing

editions) have less time than their gentlemanly counterparts of the past, and find it difficult to transpose at sight.

As if this was not enough, the fact that certain modern reproduction (?) instruments are consistently made in the wrong keys makes things worse! In a consort of recorders, for instance, if the gap between two adjacent sizes is normally a fifth (rather than the modern alternating fourths and fifths), so that a complete set of recorders would include a great bass in B flat, basset in F, tenor in C and alto in G, transposition up or down a fifth can be achieved by changing round instruments; other transpositions are also easier. The fact that the modern 'renaissance alto' recorder is generally made in F is annoying in another way too: there are many parts with a range of g-e″ which fit perfectly on a G alto, but which are problematic on the F one. This puts an editor of a piece for recorders in a curious dilemma: should he transpose the whole thing down a tone (assuming that this can be done without causing difficulties for the other parts), or should he leave the piece as it stands in the hope that one of these days the instrument makers will mend their ways?[11]

V Scoring/performing medium

Obviously this is related to the question of pitch. The editor faces a problem of attitude here, in that most modern musicians are used to an edition being *for* a particular performing medium, so that, for instance, singers tend not to buy editions of vocal music advertised as suitable for recorders and vice versa. Actually I feel more optimistic about this, as I think the various categories will be broken down. But there have been some curious results of the fear that publishers have in this respect: there are, for instance, literally hundreds of editions of renaissance vocal music published for instruments (reasonable enough), but without the texts, as if to print the words (which after all largely determine the phrasing) would somehow make the music unsuitable for instruments. And although I personally dislike this practice, I can understand the motivation of these publishers: there are many early music enthusiasts who are only interested in what they think of as 'instrumental' music, which actually turns out to be music without words. Even quite distinguished scholars[12] have been confused by this aspect of renaissance music: there are several three-part textless pieces of about 1500, labelled 'Benedictus' which they have treated as instrumental works, when these are simply sections from a mass that have been abstracted for instrumental performance. To my mind, the classic renaissance example of the overlap between vocal and instrumental music is the collection of *canzoni per sonar* published in 1588 by the Venetian printer Giacomo Vincenti. This volume consists partly of French chansons (printed without their texts) by Crecquillon, Willaert and Gombert, and partly of purely instrumental canzonas by Merulo and Guami: no distinction is made between the two types of piece, which seem to be both included under the heading 'per sonar con ogni sorte di stromenti'.

VI Underlay of the text

I have left this until last not because I underestimate its importance, but simply because it is too complicated a matter to go into properly here: the different conventions of language and verse-forms make it hard to generalize in any useful way. So I am merely giving a rough indication of the extent to which subjective judgements have to be made in the different types of renaissance music.

In most 15th-century music (apart from very simple liturgical music) underlay in the original sources is a pretty haphazard affair. Typically one whole phrase or line of text is written out below the beginning of the musical phrase, so the editor has to decide himself exactly where each syllable occurs. This is particularly true of courtly forms in which the music makes no attempt to match the natural rhythm of the words, and which is generally pretty melismatic in style. In some late 15th-century music that owes much to the influence of the popular music of the time (such as many four-part chansons by Josquin, Compère, Ninot le Petit, etc.) it is generally more obvious how the words fit the music, though there is often doubt about things like phrase-repetition and the question of which syllable to choose for the melismas that often end a phrase. Late 15th-century Italian secular music is generally simple enough for underlay to be a relatively minor problem, except that the actual forms are quite complex, and it is not always obvious which line of text goes with which musical phrase. In many sources of 15th-century music only one part is texted in the original, even when there is no musical reason for eliminating voices on the other parts. And, as many sources consist of music that was evidently foreign to the scribe (for example there are many Italian sources of French music), the editor may be presented with a literary text that is incomplete, nonsensical or simply non-existent, which may have to be supplemented

from other musical or literary sources. So the exact underlay of much 15th-century music involves a large number of small decisions on the part of the editor: thus the reader has to accept a large subjective element in the edition. However, as the music is not often closely based on the rhythm of the words, this does not present a severe obstacle to performance.

With 16th-century music the sources are usually more explicit, particularly in music such as madrigals and later chansons, which to a considerable extent start out from the rhythm of the words. (This is less true of the melismatic chansons of the first half of the century, where there is often some doubt.) With liturgical music that is not purely syllabic there can often be quite a lot of doubt about the exact underlay, as composers did not treat the words with the same intimacy as in contemporary secular music. But roughly speaking, underlay becomes increasingly straightforward as one goes through the century: for much late 16th-century music (for instance Palestrina), there are quite explicit rules that have come down from the theorists of the time.

There are of course other aspects to editing early music that cannot be treated under categories such as the above, and about which it is impossible to generalize: decisions about how far one should go in correcting errors in the original sources, for example, are not things one can draw up rules about—these depend on the nature and purpose of the edition.

The message that I hope has come through is the need for a more detached attitude to the notes than generally exists among early music performers today. Musical notation is a means to a more interesting end.

[1] This may come as a surprise to many people, but the high cost of many facsimiles and reprints today can be the result of a particular marketing policy by the publishers rather than a reflection of their costs.

[2] From *Di Bernardino Lupacchino et di Joan Maria Tasso, Il Primo libro a due voci . . . In Venetia Apresso di Antonio Gardano, 1559.*

[3] Heinrichshofen 1131, p11.

[4] Schott 2435/6.

[5] From Pierre Attaingnant's *Dixhuytiesme livre contenant xxviij Chansons nouvelles . . . a quatre parties . . . 1545.*

[6] For instance, Willaert's double canon on *Petite Camusette*, published in *Four Double Canons,* Antico Edition, Newton Abbot, 1972.

[7] For an extreme example, see no. 60 in Stevens, *Music at the Court of Henry VIII,* in which there is no one obvious way to apply *musica ficta.* (As it stands the piece does not work at all.)

[8] See the translation by Marcus Wells in the July 1973 issue of this journal.

[9] Crecquillon's three-part *Content Desir* is in Thomas Crecquillon, *Twelve Chansons* (London Pro Musica Edition, PC8); Claudin's original is in Howard Mayer Brown, *Theatrical Chansons,* Cambridge, Mass., USA, 1963.

[10] One such is Ockeghem's *Missa Fors Seulement*, in which the conflict between the written pitch of the model and the actual performance pitch is exposed by the fact that the second part is labelled *Secundus Puer*, in spite of the fact that it is much too low for a boy's part (it goes down to F). Ockeghem's adherence to the written pitch of his model went to such lengths that if he did wish to transpose the model as he did in his *Missa L'Homme Armé*, he did it by means of verbal instruction. See the complete edition of Ockeghem's masses by Dragan Plamanac.

[11] In fairness, the smaller makers of hand-made instruments (such as Klaus Scheele and Bernhard Junghänel of Germany, and John Cousen in this country) do make alto instruments in G. But unfortunately mass-producers of so-called renaissance recorders, still go on churning out F instruments.

[12] Such as Helen Hewitt, the editor of the modern edition of Petrucci's *Odhecaton*, in which she included the Isaac 'Benedictus' (from his *Missa Quant J'ay*) in her category of 'instrumental tricinium'. This piece is no. 1 in Stevens, *Music at the Court of Henry VIII.*

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Stage design for renaissance theatre

STELLA MARY NEWTON

The interest which recent historians, art historians and musicians have taken in the festivities surrounding the wedding of Ferdinando de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine is understandable. From the eye-witness accounts, stage-designs and musical scores that have survived it is possible to build up a vivid picture of the glamorous events which accompanied this marriage of the Grand Duke of Tuscany to his French bride in Florence in May 1589. Among the processions, lion-hunts, fireworks and performances of plays which took place in the streets and palaces of Florence it is my purpose here to examine only a single detail in one event—the second *Intermedio* in the *commedia, La Pelegrina*—and that mainly in order to discuss two entirely different works of art.

Audiences of the day seem to have appreciated the decorative interludes which separated the dramatic acts of contemporary plays as much, if not more than, the plays themselves. *La Pelegrina*, probably written between 1564 and 1568 by Girolamo Bartagli of Siena (who had since died) was given its first performance in 1589. The *Intermedii*, six of them, provided the usual excuse for elaborate *prospettive* and *apparati* and, following the Italian tradition, consisted of music and mime and some ballet but no spoken dialogue.

The scenery—*prospettive*—and the costumes for these *Intermedii* were designed by Bernardo Buontalenti who was primarily an architect but who, like any other architect of his time, was a stage-designer and what would today be called an interior decorator too. A considerable number of his designs for this presentation have survived and are now in the Uffizi and other museums; they are not complete. What remains of the designs for the setting of the second *Intermedio*, for instance, are two drawings for the central rock. The whole set can better be judged from an engraving by a Sienese monk, Epifanio d'Alfiano, published in 1592 (fig. 1).

The performance took place in the *Teatro Medici* (also known as the *Sala dei Magistrati*), built by

1 Engraving: Setting for the second Intermedio, *Florence, 1589. Epifanio d'Alfiano, 1592.*

2 Wood-cut: illustration to Melopoiae, *published 1507. Hans Süss von Kulmbach*

Buontalenti in 1586 inside the complex known as the 'Uffizi'. We are told that the hall held between three and four thousand people, which may be an exaggeration, but in any case it is probable that the space occupied by the stage-setting was a good deal larger than Epifanio's engraving suggests.

All the *Intermedii* were united by a single theme—the power of music. The second, which concerns us here, related the story of the competition between the Muses and the impertinent daughters of Pierus who challenged them to a musical contest after which, it was agreed, the losers should be turned into birds. Since the Muses, who would have been the natural judges of such a contest, were themselves taking part, a gathering of Nymphs acted as judges on this occasion. It goes without saying that the Pierides lost and we see them pecking about in the foreground of the engraving as well as competing in what an eye-witness explains is the right-hand *grotto*; the Muses occupied the other.

The eye-witness was Bastiano dei Rossi, whose account of the entertainment was published in Florence in the same year. It is from his extremely detailed description of the performance that we learn, among other things, that the birds into which the Pierides were transformed were, in fact, mechanized and hopped and jumped about.

It is clear from Bastiano's ecstatic account of the second *Intermedio* that Epifanio's engraving is considerably simplified; it could hardly have been otherwise for when the curtain rose (or was drawn aside) an exquisite garden was revealed, filled with trees and flowers in great variety. Bastiano tells us, for instance, that the orange and the lemon trees bore both ripe and unripe fruit as well as being white with blossom, that roses, red, white and pink appeared in great profusion, that sweet scents infused the whole scene and that background-music simulated the song of birds. Into this Elysian garden of statues, vases, pergolas, lilies, wild thyme and jasmine there rose, very gradually, in the centre, the peak of a rock which continued to rise until it had reached the height of twelve *braccii* (about six metres) at the peak and some five *braccii* on its lower slopes, 'as it were by a miracle'. On this rock, sitting on flowery banks, were sixteen Nymphs, magnificently dressed in various coloured satins. When the rock had risen, or while it was rising, the two grottos appeared, one on each side, dripping with water and lined with moss; seated inside were the Muses and the Pierides, the two groups playing similar instruments, harps, lyres, *lire archiviolate* and *soprani di violi*. The words of the lyrics, which survive, were by Ottavio Rinuccini and the score, which also survives, by Luca Marenzio of Brescia. The cast were members of one of the celebrated dramatic companies of Siena—the *Intronati*—of which the author of *La Pelegrina* had himself been a member.

As well as describing the setting, Bastiano dei Rossi also described the costumes in considerable detail; they were, of course, very elaborate. By this date sets designed for a proscenium-stage, equipped with a wide range of mechanical devices, were in general use in the private theatres of the courts of Italy.

Although compressed, Epifanio's engraving corresponds sufficiently well to Bastiano's description to allow us to take it as a correct, if abbreviated, representation of the actual scenery, which must have included a sky backing (against which, in some of the other *Intermedii*, immortals descended from above); on each side, producing a completely symmetrical effect, were wings or cut-outs, painted to represent two

3 Portrait of Alberto Pio ascribed to Bernardino Loschi, 1512. National Gallery, London. Left: *Details from the above*

distant hills. Downstage of these were the two grottos in the form of identical cylindrical domed buildings with open fronts. Running upstage, to right and to left, two identical arcades, adorned with statues, obviously served to mask the entrance of both the grottos and their occupants.

This is, of course, a classic example of the kind of stage-setting still in use today. That it had already reached this advanced stage by the end of the 16th century should not appear surprising in view of the great step forward in the art of the dramatist of the time as well as, we learn from other contemporary accounts, the presence of 'engineers' in addition to artists in the theatre.

The engraving of the stage-set for the second *Intermedio* of 1589 is important not only in its own right but also for its elucidation of a much clumsier engraving by the German, Hans Süss von Kulmbach, published in 1507, eighty-two years before the Medici-Lorraine wedding and before the 16th-century advances in playwriting and stage-craft had come about. The *Apollo on Parnassus* (fig. 2) appears as one of the two illustrations to musical settings for a variety of short secular and religious texts, including Odes by Horace and a couple of poems by Conrad Celtes, Poet Laureate to the Emperor Maximilian I and Professor of Poetry and

Rhetoric at the University of Vienna.[1] The score is by a composer from the south Tyrol who went by the name of Petrus Tritonius; his actual name was Treibenreif and Celtes had been born Pickel. The second engraving, which does not concern us here, shows Phoebus Apollo looking suspiciously like Celtes himself, surrounded by medallions in each of which appears one of the nine Muses.

The *Apollo on Parnassus* is very different. The figure of Apollo can only be a teutonic borrowing from a contemporary, or rather earlier, Italian engraving, perhaps the same source as that used by Raphael for his more distinguished Vatican *Parnassus*, painted a few years later. Von Kulmbach's Apollo sits, we are told by an inscription on the ground at his feet, on Parnassus, a modest mount placed exactly in the centre foreground. Up in the background appear two symmetrical hillocks which correspond to the cut-outs of the second *Intermedio*, but in this case temples, no longer playing the role of grottos, stand on, and not in front of, the hillocks. They too are labelled, not on their actual fabric, as they would have been in the case of their ancestors, the 'mansions' of the medieval theatre, but by inscriptions which float in the air. The labels are unnecessary because each temple is topped by a very recognizable figure: on the right Minerva, on the left Diana. With Epifanio's engraving in mind this scene, too, can surely be seen as a stage-setting. Not only is the *prospettiva* arranged strictly symmetrically but almost the whole cast, the majority of its members gathered into appropriate groups, faces the audience. Upstage left are grouped nine female musicians—Pierides or Muses, the torn scroll floating in the sky mentions both, though both do not appear. On the right are four satyrs, performing, as they play their pipes, that faintly swinging dance-step still a commonplace among choruses from grand opera to floor-shows.

Below these, emerging from manifestly cut-out flat bushes, are two females who represent Oreads and Driads; below them lies 'Father' Bacchus, prone, while Silenus, weaving his way among the cast on his ass, clearly provides the humour of the scene. Driads, Bacchus and Silenus are balanced on the left by Pegasus, again certainly a cut-out, who descends from a cloud to create the fountain, Hippocrene, in the form of a stock sculptural fountain again borrowed from a late 15th-century Italian engraving.

If it is true that this wood-cut records, with rough accuracy, a stage event, it is not, I think, an illustration of one specific moment in the *Melopoiae* of Tritonius and Celtes, nor does it correspond exactly to the verse on the scroll, which omits Silenus and the distant death of Acteon. It looks, in fact, like a composite finale, in which once more it corresponds to the Epifanio engraving of the second *Intermedio* where the Pierides appear simultaneously as contestants and in their later guise as birds.

In whatever production or productions this cast appeared it is unlikely that Parnassus, impelled by invisible mechanism, rose from below, though it is just possible that it did. It is very likely, however, that Pegasus descended from above; in the Italian theatre celestial beings, both mythical and sacred, had been doing so for at least the past 150 years. An almost identical Pegasus, producing an almost identical fountain, both of which must have come from the same or a very similar source as von Kulmbach's, can be found in a small piece of painted glass, depicting what looks like a dramatized version of the Iliad, in the Cluny Museum in Paris.

The third work of art which shares some features with the two already discussed is a portrait in the National Gallery in London, catalogued by Mr. Cecil Gould.[2] The painting was formerly ascribed to either Peruzzi or Grimaldi but is now ascribed to Bernardino Loschi (fig. 3). The clothes and the face of the sitter have been extensively repainted and so has an inscription across the front of his tunic which reads: Albertus Pius Carp . . . MDXII. In his hand he holds an open book on which is a passage from the *Aeneid* (vi 724-747), the opening of the prophecy from the Underworld, spoken by the dead Anchises to his son Aeneas, foretelling the future glories of Rome—to be brought about, perhaps, by a happy alliance of Maximilian and the Pope.

Although the inscription across the sitter's chest may have been repainted, Alberto Pio has not been recently, nor was he in 1512, so famous that to add his name to it could increase the painting's value. It can be taken, therefore, as a faithful replacement of an earlier inscription.

In 1512 Alberto Pio, lord of Carpi, was one of the Emperor Maximilian's ambassadors to the Vatican in Rome. In his portrait he is dressed as a German official of the period but he wears an Italian hair-cut. The contemporary Venetian diarist, Marin Sanudo, writing of Alberto in 1512, describes him as wearing black silk velvet and a *berettino*, a term which suggests a cap which is rather smaller than would be fashionable. It is almost certainly a feature of his official dress.

The portrait's background is somewhat reminiscent

4 The Island of Delos from a manuscript of Cristoforo Buondelmonte's Liber Insularum *(Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Ms Canon Misc. 280)*

of both the second *Intermedio* and the *Apollo on Parnassus* of the *Melopoiae*. In the first place, set on hillocks placed symmetrically on either side of the sitter but far back, are two temples, both of which, though they are not exactly like each other, bear a close resemblance to those in the von Kulmbach wood-cut. Round the frieze of the temple on the left can be read 'Phoebus' in Greek characters, round that on the right, 'Dionysus', representing, perhaps, epic and lyric poetry.

The pairs of temples in both works are singular in shape and seem to derive from a common prototype, possibly one which may also have inspired, though more remotely, the grottos in the second *Intermedio*. The strangeness of these temples lies in the fact that they are surrounded neither by a colonnade nor by engaged columns and their doorways are plain openings, devoid of any classical porticos. They are all, in fact, dumpy ungraceful affairs which would certainly have aroused no admiration either in classical Rome or in the cultured and scholarly Rome of Maximilian's day. Was their design inherited from an appropriate 'mansion' of the medieval theatre or, by some strange freak, could an equally dumpy little temple which appears in a book of drawings by Cristoforo Buondelmonte, dated 1422, have provided a model (fig. 4)?[3] The tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way is perhaps another possible source, but would von Kulmbach have been familiar with it? It certainly seems impossible to trace these beehive-like structures to any of the obvious sources such as single Italian engravings, the *Florentine Picture Chronicle* or the *Hypnerotomachia Polifili*.

In front of the temples in the Alberto portrait is assembled a conventional classical cast. Minerva, not standing on the dome of her own temple, brandishes her sword in front of Apollo's; Silenus is mounted on his ass; Bacchus (Dionysus), removed from his temple, rides in his traditional car. Nine Muses stand about, some of them very properly lingering by a fountain—Hippocrene? the Castilian Spring? Pegasus is not there to tell us which. At the foot of the square basin of the fountain lies a figure in 'antique' armour, apparently dictating to what appears to be a tenth female, a person who would, if the Muses have been correctly counted, be difficult to explain. On the identification of the armoured man the identification of the scene must surely depend. He cannot, up to now, be named.

In 1510 Alberto's domain in Carpi had been seized by a distant relative; in 1512 it was restored to him through the intervention of Maximilian, an act which must have taken place early in that year because on 1 February 1512, the Pope, Julius II, gave Alberto permission to demolish some old church buildings there; in 1514, though still in Rome, he was already putting up a new cathedral. The year 1512 was, therefore, a happy one for Alberto Pio.

Several dramatic performances, important enough to have been recorded, took place in Rome during the years 1510 to 1512; some were in honour of a new Cardinal, Bishop Mathias Lang and his German mission, of which Alberto was a member; others to amuse the little Federigo Gonzaga of Mantua, a hostage in Rome at that time. Some were presented by the Sienese nobleman, Agostino Chigi, whose new palace, now the 'Farnesina', was in the course of being decorated by Raphael and the very much less important Baldassare Peruzzi, who was also engaged in designing stage-settings, a fact which may account for the attachment of Peruzzi's name to Alberto Pio's portrait with its theatrical background. The background may, indeed, be reminiscent of a setting by Peruzzi.

Conrad Celtes was Maximilian's Poet Laureate; Alberto Pio, one of his ambassadors. As a young man Celtes had travelled extensively in Italy, staying some time in Ferrara and Padua, and had met and studied with many of the important humanists of the day.

Alberto Pio's mother was a sister of Pico della Mirandola, and he himself had studied in Ferrara and Padua. It is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that the illustrations to the *Melopoiae* and the Loschi portrait were approved by the poet and the sitter respectively as expressing the values they both stood for. The fact that as works of art neither the illustrations nor the portrait have any importance, is relevant.

The face and torso of Alberto are too heavily repainted for the quality of their original execution to be judged. The symmetry of the background, however, is not only depressingly monotonous but also out of character with the Italian taste of the time which, as can be seen by comparing it with backgrounds in the enormous number of paintings and engravings of the same period, preferred asymmetry where the composition of the background was concerned. The von Kulmbach wood-cut similarly suffers in comparison with its Italian counterparts not merely in the naïvety of its drawing but also in the symmetry of its composition.

It is perhaps significant that in the early 16th century the term *prospettiva* (which can now be translated as 'perspective' or 'prospect') should begin to be used for the general stage-picture, *apparati* being the scenery, including its moving parts. The use of the word *prospettiva* in the theatre coincided with the publication in Italy of a considerable number of books on the problems of perspective, problems to which some of the noted stage-designers—Baldassare Peruzzi, for instance—were certainly giving great attention. The importance of the von Kulmbach wood-cut of 1507 and the Loschi portrait of 1512 lies, therefore, not in their value as works of art but in the fact that they are records of what may reasonably be called 'modern' stage settings.

Stella Mary Newton's Renaissance Theatre Costume and The Sense of the Historic Past *was reviewed on page 323 of the July 1976 issue.*

[1] The title-page begins: Melopoiae sive Harmoniae tetra centricae super xxii genera carminum Heroicoru(m) Elegiacoru(m) Lyricorum & ecclesiasticoru(m) hymnoru(m) per Petrum Tritonium et alios doctos sodalitatis Literariae nostrae. . . . Both Tritonius and Celtes were members of the Vienna Academy.

[2] *Catalogue of the Sixteenth-century Italian Schools* by Cecil Gould, 1975. The painting's number is 3940.

[3] *Liber Insularum* (Oxford, Bodl. Lib MS Canon Misc 280 fol. 30). For the influence of this work on later scholars see Charles Mitchel in *Italian Renaissance Studies* (London, 1960).

Instructions for the clavier diversely tempered

MARK LINDLEY

Among Isaac Newton's papers at his death was an anonymous essay (Cambridge University Library, ms. Add. 3970[2]) advocating just intonation for the lute and viol but acknowledging that players of those instruments would be reluctant to abandon their familiar equal temperament, because:

> to play upon a new tuning when a man has been all his lifetime accustomed to another that is different from it, is a difficulty that will sacrifice all the rational interests of Musick to a practicall resentment.

This is a shrewd observation. It may not explain why equal temperament became standard on fretted instruments in the 1500s, three centuries before becoming standard for keyboard instruments; but it does perhaps suggest how a modern scholar as distinguished and conscientious as J. Murray Barbour could publish his *Tuning and temperament: a historical survey* (1951) without having tried out any keyboard temperament other than the one—equal temperament—that he deemed best at the outset and by comparison with which, through mathematical formulae, he evaluated all the others.

Since the 1950s taste has changed, and numerous harpsichordists and organists nowadays are aware that the flavour of renaissance and baroque keyboard music is likely to be enhanced remarkably by using the original style of intonation. Of course one has to choose a temperament proper to the music, as well as knowing how to tune it: hence the instructions which follow are interlaced with brief comments as to which tunings belong historically to which parts of the repertory. One need not, incidentally, master dozens of

schemes. The student of keyboard performing practice can do very well with a few basic varieties.

I shall give instructions as for one register of strings or pipes. When tuning the other registers to match, on a string instrument it is best to do the treble notes last, because the shortest strings are the ones most likely to be thrown out of tune by subtle changes (wrought by the tuner) in the tension borne by the frame of the instrument. Indeed, the top octave or so of the first register should be checked after the lower portions of the other registers have been brought into unison.

In one other respect the procedures for all tunings are similar: after setting all the notes of the octave somewhere in the middle of the range of the first register, the pattern is extended by tuning pure octaves. A few of the octaves at the very top or very bottom of the harpsichord's 18th-century range may be tuned slightly larger than pure, as suggested by Michel Corrette in 1753; but, as he warned, 'cela soit imperceptible'—no one should be able to notice! As a general rule, in fact, no one should notice anything about a tuning except that the music sounds fitting.

For the oldest extant keyboard music—in the Robertsbridge Fragment—tune a series of untempered 5ths and 4ths from E♭ to G♯. Thus E♭-B♭-F-C-G-D-A-E-B-F♯-C♯-G♯ should all be quite pure, without a shred of beating among them. Any such scheme, based exclusively on pure 5ths and 4ths, is called a 'Pythagorean' intonation. Ex. 1 illustrates two procedures for tuning an octave of the keyboard in this particular disposition of Pythagorean intonation, with the 'wolf' 5th (smaller than pure) lying between G♯ and E♭; but any procedure will do if it links the notes into a continuous chain of pure 5ths and 4ths from E♭ through to G♯. Either of the series shown in ex. 1 could be done in reverse, for instance; or one could start from any note in the middle of the chain and work out in both directions. However it is set, this easy scheme is worth using to explore plainchant, organum and early gothic polyphony at the keyboard. Such music is well served by its pure 5ths and 4ths, large whole-tones, small diatonic semitones, and major 3rds and 6ths a comma (i.e. about a ninth of a whole-tone) larger than pure.

Ex. 1. From one note taken as starting point, a chain of 5ths and 4ths is made by tuning each new note while playing it with its predecessor in the series. Two examples are shown of a series extending from E♭ to G♯.

For certain pieces written down by the first scribe of the 15th-century Buxheim Organ Book (including nos. 17, 19, 30–31, 126–28, 141, 153–55, 180 and 196), the three sharps should be tuned differently: make G♯ pure to E♭, then C♯ to G♯, and F♯ to C♯. This arrangement, which was prescribed or referred to by a dozen early-renaissance theorists including Ugolino of Orvieto, Henri Arnaut of Zwölle and John Hothby, places the Pythagorean 'wolf' between F♯ and B; but it renders almost pure those 3rds which contain one sharp, namely the chain D-F♯-A-C♯-E-G♯-B-D♯. In fact, one could set the tuning by starting with *them*—making them pure, that is, but with particular care not to make any 3rd or 5th larger than pure—and then tuning B♭, F, C and G to fill the chain of 5ths and 4ths from E♭ (alias D♯) to D, namely E♭-B♭-F-C-G-D, again with care that no 5th be larger than pure. Ex. 2

Ex. 2. This keyboard setting of Dufay's 'Par le regard de vos beaux yeux', a rondeau epitomizing the mid-15th-century courtly song tradition, is transcribed from #31 in the *Buxheim Organ Book* with some melodic embellishments in the first few measures borrowed from #30, a more ornate setting of the same composition. Both keyboard versions exploit the nearly pure inflection of the 3rds A-C♯-E-G♯ in Pythagorean intonation with the wolf 5th between B and F♯.

exploits nicely the peculiarities of this tuning, which is also quite suitable for the liturgical keyboard repertory in the early-15th-century Faenza Codex, though here F♯ might perhaps just as well be pure with B, leaving the wolf between F♯ and C♯. In general, however, an intonation in which the 3rds with a sharp are much more nearly pure than the Pythagorean 3rds elsewhere in the scale is worth using to explore late-14th- and early-15th-century vocal music at the keyboard.

In this kind of tuning the pure or nearly pure major 3rds comprise two unequal whole tones (A-B, for instance, being larger than B-C♯). Tunings with pure or nearly pure major 3rds divided into two equal whole tones are called meantone tunings: eleven 5ths are tempered smaller than pure, and a very large wolf 5th is left over. Hence it is well to decide in advance where to leave the wolf 5th (C♯-A♭, G♯-E♭, or D♯-B♭) and how much to temper the good 5ths. If pure major 3rds are desired, then the 5ths and 4ths have to be tempered nearly three times as much as in equal temperament. This form of meantone temperament was widely used, particularly on organs, from the high renaissance through most of the Baroque. But tunings similar in every way except that the major 3rds were slightly larger than pure were also very widely used throughout the same period, and listeners today often find them more appealing. (Meantone temperament with major 3rds and 6ths slightly smaller than pure, though recommended by Zarlino in 1558 and by A. R. McClure in a brilliant article in the first issue of the *Galpin Society Journal* (1949), is rather difficult to tune and will therefore be omitted here.)

One key to setting a meantone temperament well is to listen carefully to the 3rds and 6ths: their beat rate

should vary smoothly with the pitch level, as indicated in ex. 3. Renaissance and baroque theorists did not specify this point, and hence it seems evident that most tuners did not take such a craftsmanly approach. But without it a meantone tuning today will be at a disadvantage *vis à vis* equal temperament, because all competent piano tuners set the latter with this degree of care. Moreover, once the habit of listening to the 3rds and 6ths as well as the 5ths and 4ths is formed, the method is not only more precise but also quicker and easier than the alternatives of listening primarily to the 5ths or resorting to an electronic box. One need not check systematically every type of interval in ex. 3 throughout the instrument, of course, but efficient tuners do make use of every type to diagnose irregularities and produce consistent results quickly. And the fatigue of attempting to discern pure octaves by listening for a very slow beat can often be avoided by the alternative method of equalizing the perceived pitch levels of the beating harmonic unisons in each pair of intervals shown in ex. 4.

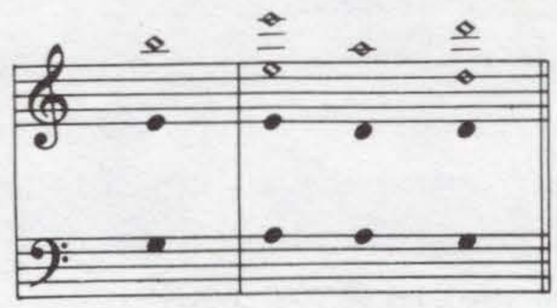
Ex. 3. In regular tunings the beating of each kind of tempered consonance varies smoothly with the pitch level. These illustrations are for a meantone temperament with two flats (B♭ and E♭) and three sharps (F♯, C♯ and G♯).

Ex. 4. An expert technique for judging pure octaves with relatively little fatigue is to compare the manner in which two notes an octave apart beat with a note a minor 3rd above or major 3rd below the lower note. The velocity of beating and pitch of the two A's shown here should be exactly the same, likewise that of the two high D's. Once the habit of listening in this way has been formed, the comparisons can be made very quickly.

The easiest way to set a meantone temperament well, then, is to begin by tuning the major 6th from G to middle E, slightly larger than pure. Listen at the pitch level of B nearly two octaves above middle C. Both the G and the E have an overtone there, and the unison between those two overtones should be made to beat between three and five times per second: three if pure major 3rds are intended, otherwise more than three.

Once G and E are set, tune the D and A that lie between them, to produce the chain G-D-A-E. Juggle D and A so as to make the 5th G-D beat just imperceptibly slower than A-E, both 5ths being tempered smaller than pure, while the 4th A-D is tempered slightly larger than pure. Listen to the unisons among the overtones (as indicated in ex. 5) and make the

Ex. 5. To gauge precisely the degree of tempering in any concord, focus the ear at the pitch level of unisons between the overtones of the two notes involved. In intervals tempered to the same extent the actual beat rate will vary with the pitch level of those unisons. In the 5th G-D shown here, beats at the level of soprano's high D will be twice as fast as those at the level of alto's high D. Normally one need listen only to the beating of the lowest unison among the overtones.



unison at high A, in the 4th A-D, beat half again as fast as the lower unison in G-D but only about three-fourths as fast as the higher unison in G-D (which is often rather prominent in harpsichords).

Now add middle C and B. The 4ths G-C and B-E must be larger than pure, with G-C beating just imperceptibly slower than A-D while B-E beats just imperceptibly faster. If the 6th G-E was tuned to beat three times per second, check now to see that C is pure with E, and B pure with G. In any case check that the minor 3rd A-C beats no faster than B-D.

Tune each successive note to conform with the pattern now established. F below middle C, for instance, should beat with C and D imperceptibly less (certainly no faster), than G does with D and E respectively. If G-B is pure, then F-A should also be pure; if G-B beats, then F-A should beat imperceptibly less. Expand the series of 5ths and 4ths until you have developed the patterns shown in ex. 3, and then extend the tuning throughout the instrument.

Equal temperament can be set by the same procedure, except that the principle of smoothness in the 6ths and 3rds will embrace notes, such as D♭ or A♯, that are not included in the meantone pattern. The initial G-E must beat nine times per second—which can be gauged by imagining three triplets forming a $\frac{3}{8}$ bar each second. The corresponding major 6th F-D beats eight times per second in semiquavers, and middle D beats once per second with A. Equal temperament, incidentally, was beginning to be used on keyboard instruments as early as the 17th century. Frescobaldi may possibly have used it occasionally, and while his advice to tune in equal temperament the organ shown on the cover of this issue was rejected, some of the music of Foberger, who was his pupil when the organ was built, sounds best in equal temperament.

The tunings discussed so far—Pythagorean intonation, meantone temperaments and equal temperament—are all 'regular' tunings, each with but one size of good 5th. Irregular tunings, with some 5ths tempered differently from others or with a mixture of tempered and untempered 5ths, played an important role in the development of harmonic style and modulation during the late-17th and 18th centuries. In France they seem to have emerged during the 17th century via a misunderstanding of instructions for a regular meantone tuning, whereby the two 5ths E♭-B♭-F were tempered larger than pure rather than smaller. (The misunderstanding evidently pivoted on Mersenne's ambiguous statement that B♭ should be tuned 'strong' to F, and likewise E♭ to B♭.) This particular kind of irregular temperament fits elegantly some of the harpsichord music of Louis Couperin, especially where the flats are involved. To tune it, set a regular meantone temperament for all the notes except B♭ and E♭; include low B (an octave below middle B); tune the intervening E♭/D♯ so that it beats with G as a major 3rd the same as or slightly faster than it does with the low B; and then tune B♭ to make as good a 5th or 4th as it can with both E♭ and F.

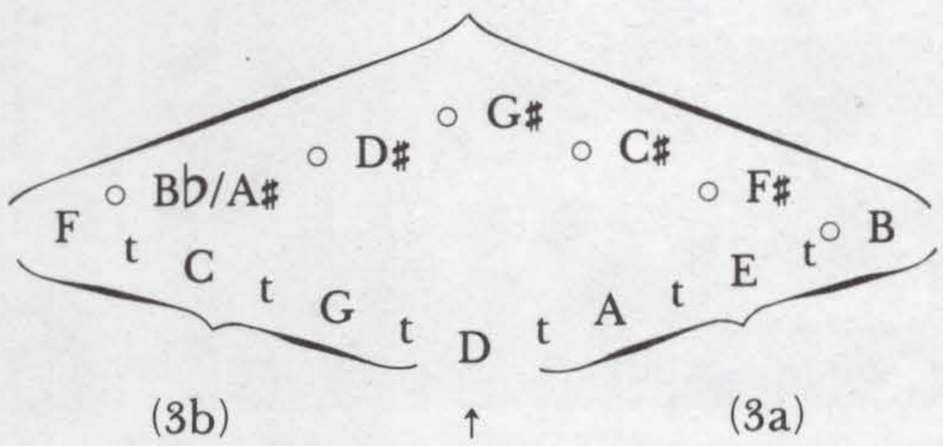
In this tuning something of a wolf 5th remains between G♯ and E♭. By the time of D'Anglebert (and probably already for Louis Couperin's f♯-minor Pavane) the wolf had been eliminated entirely by raising G♯, most likely C♯ as well, and perhaps even F♯. To set a nicely shaded form of what became known in the 18th century as *tempérament ordinaire*, tune the diatonic notes and F♯ in a regular meantone pattern, with the initial G-E beating 4 or 5 times per second; make D♯/E♭ (below middle C) beat equally fast with low B and with G; tune B♭ as nearly pure as possible with both E♭ and F; make C♯ pure to F♯, and G♯ pure to C♯; and then raise F♯ very slightly, just enough to make it impure with C♯ but not enough to make it pure with B.

Irregular tunings with no wolf 5th were well known also in Germany by the 1690s. In Werckmeister's preferred organ tuning, for example, four 5ths were tempered (C-G-D-A and B-F♯), and the others tuned pure. To set this scheme, make middle C beat three or four times per second with A (the ambiguity stems from Werckmeister's own mathematics); temper G and D to make a series of 5ths and/or 4ths (C-G-D-A) as in a meantone temperament; and then tune pure (with the 5ths certainly no larger than pure) the following two series of 5ths and/or 4ths: A-E-B and C-F-B♭-E♭-A♭-D♭-G♭. Check and, if necessary, refine to make sure that B beats with F♯ no faster than C with G a semitone above.

As in the French *tempérament ordinaire* prescribed above, so in Werckmeister's and the other German 'good temperaments'—except equal temperament itself, which some 18th-century writers considered 'good'—the tempering of the diatonic triads resembled or nearly resembled some form of meantone tuning; the 3rds of the most remote triads, such as A♭, D♭ and F♯ among the major triads, were much more heavily tempered; and E-G♯-B and perhaps E♭-G-B♭ sounded about as in equal temperament. The semitones B-C and E-F were the largest; C-D♭ and E♯-F♯ were the smallest; and the others varied gradually in

between. Dozens of 18th-century musicians praised this kind of tuning. It gave variety and nuance to 'transpositions', that is, modulations and sequences, and the different keys gained a distinctiveness of acoustic character. One such tuning, praised by Tartini in 1754 for its qualities of *chiaroscuro*, was used at Padua by Francescantonio Vallotti, organist and resident composer from the 1720s until his death in 1780. As the circular diagram which heads the following instructions indicates, Vallotti tuned pure the six 5ths containing one or more chromatic notes, and he tempered equally among themselves the six 5ths among the diatonic notes. The temperament can easily be set, therefore, by tuning first the pure links in the circle of 5ths, and then dividing in half the remaining series by placing D as a major 3rd above B♭ and below F♯.

(1)



(3b) ↑ (3a)

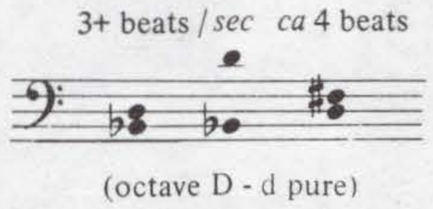
(2)

By way of concluding advice for beginners, two basic rules for tuning any stringed keyboard instrument should perhaps be mentioned: (1) Do not bend the wrest pins by leaning, however innocently, on the tuning hammer; be aware that your sole object is to twist the pin on its own axis. If you use a goose-neck rather than T-shape hammer, tune with the handle approximately parallel to the strings rather than approximately perpendicular to them. (2) Do not break the strings by tightening them unduly. It is a very good idea, in fact, always to put the tuning hammer on precisely that wrest pin around which the string you wish to tune is wrapped. A nice regard for these rules will add much to the value of the tuning procedures outlined above.

1. Tune pure all those 5ths & 4ths that contain one or more chromatic notes:

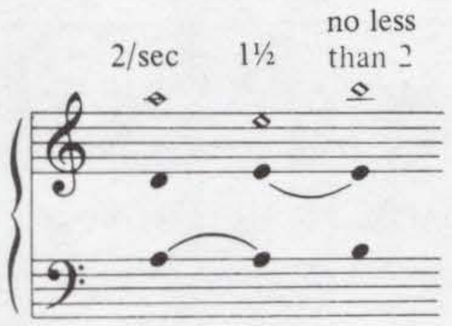
All pure - no beats

2. Temper D equally as a major 3rd with B♭ and with F♯ (D-F♯ should beat very slightly faster than B♭-D because of the difference in pitch level between the two intervals):

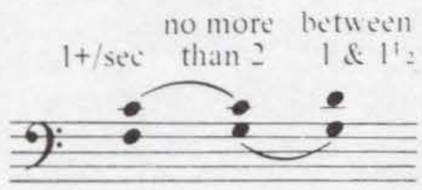


(octave D - d pure)

3a. Using D and B as your guideposts, tune A and E to make the following chain of 5ths & 4ths tempered equally among themselves: D-A-E-B. Middle D should beat exactly twice a second with A440 or A220, particularly when one listens to the beats that emanate from the overtones at A880. (For a slightly lower pitch level, be sure the rate is no more than twice a second.)



3b. Using F and D as your guideposts, tune C and G to make the following chain of 5ths & 4ths tempered equally among themselves: F-C-G-D. Check for consistency of tempering among all the diatonic 5ths & 4ths (F-C-G-D-A-E-B).



Producing 'Le Roman de Fauvel'

FREDERICK RENZ

In New York, during October 1975, the Ensemble for Early Music gave its first performance of the 14th-century entertainment, Le Roman de Fauvel. *This autumn it is being given a six-week national tour of American colleges and universities. Frederick Renz, Director of the Ensemble, here describes how they created an effective dramatic production.*

In autumn 1973 a translated portion of the poetic text of the *Roman de Fauvel* found its way to New York Pro Musica's office. Though the packet created little attention at a time when Pro Musica was busy closing shop, its potential was intriguing. On Pro Musica's demise, Ensemble for Early Music was formed, and the realization of a theatrical rendition of *Fauvel* became the new Ensemble's immediate project.

The richly illuminated manuscript of the *Roman de Fauvel* is one of the medieval treasures of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (fr. 146). The polyphonic music has been transcribed by Leo Schrade in his *Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century* (Monaco: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, 1956) and the monophonic pieces in Gregory Harrison's dissertation, *The Monophonic Music in the Roman de Fauvel* (Stanford Univ, Ph.D., 1963). For our production we were especially fortunate to have the help of Mr Dale Good of the New York Public Library, Music Research Division, in collating the various transcriptions; Mr Frank Didishiem, who presented the Ensemble with a translation of the entire French text, as well as advising us in the formulation of the abridged narration; and Mr Peter Klein, whose research into medieval drama reconstruction led to his brilliant stage direction.

The aim of this collaboration with the authorities mentioned above was to evoke the cultural life of the French court during the second decade of the 14th century. Of the same family as the *Renard* narratives, Fauvel is a crisp satire pricking frailties and vices in all quarters—politics and religion, courtly love, morals and mores. At the same time, it parodies the heroic exploits and sentiments of the *Roman de la Rose*, entwining elegant refinements with coarse barbarism.

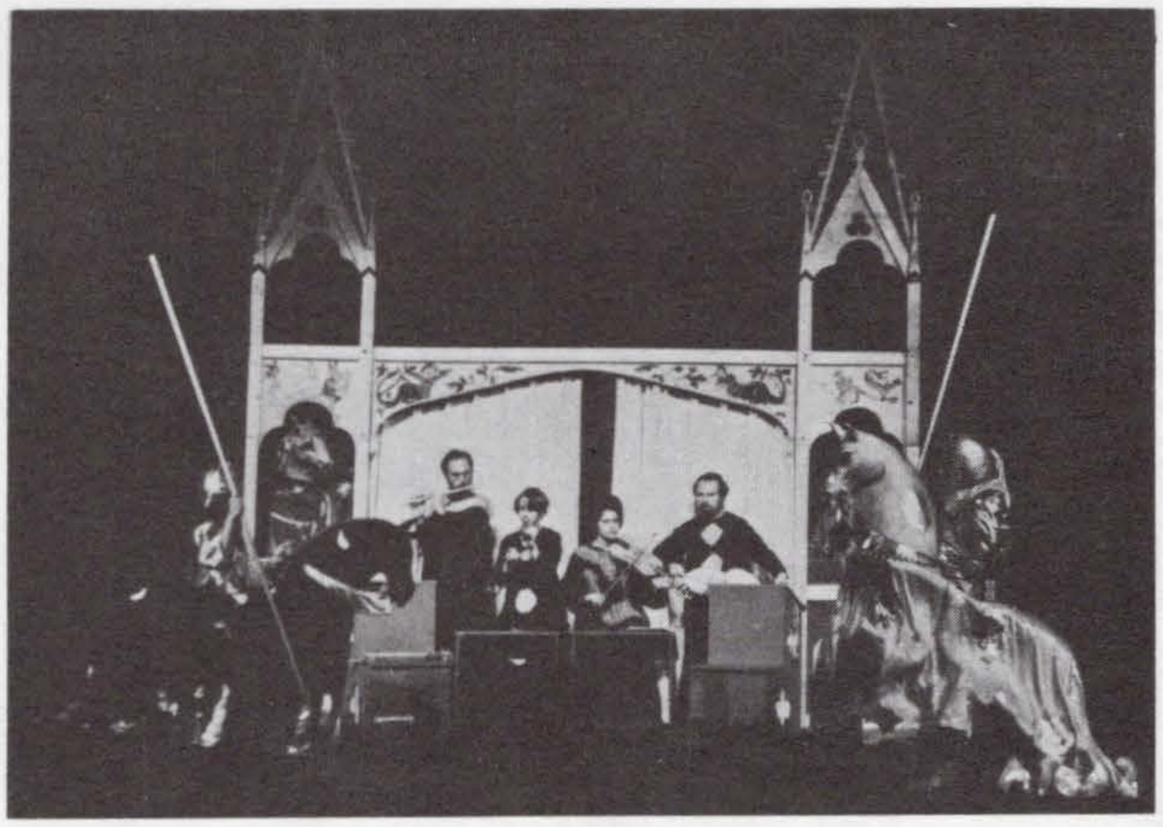
In considering Frank Didishiem's excellent translation, I cannot do better than to quote his own account of it. The poem itself he describes as 'truly in the poetic language of the times, with constantly high regard for elegance and style'.

The translation seizes upon the vigor and clarity of the original, adhering closely to the narrative's specific meters, poetic devices, and structure. One difficulty encountered in

translating this poem derives from its frequent use of words and phrases with double meanings, puns and linguistic twists which are necessarily robbed of part of their significance when transposed into English. The poet had a particularly fertile mind in this direction, and his verses no doubt gained in entertainment value by these mystifications. The name Fauvel itself suggests several interpretations. First, as the poet himself points out, it evokes falseness (*faux*) and pretense of concealment (*vel*). It also invites the meaning of savage (*fauve*) which the poet stresses in describing Fauvel's coat of fauve, the color of wild beasts. Further, the poem being an allegory, Fauvel might connote a short fable. It is of interest that the constantly recurring phrase 'entriller Fauvel' (to curry Fauvel) has led to the English 'to curry favor', or as applied in this poem, mundane success.[1]

The entire manuscript contains some 6,700-odd verses and over 150 musical numbers. If performed in its entirety, it would span several hours. The Ensemble's abridged version of some 750 verses and 30 musical numbers was designed for conventional concert length. With the initial problem of inflicting major cuts on the manuscript and then using the abridged version as a vehicle for a fully theatrical presentation, we proceeded with the utmost caution. When faced with the task of sacrificing hundreds of verses of descriptive monologue in order to present the entire plot within a realistic time framework, we were grateful for the visual dimension we created by transforming the *Roman de Fauvel* into a 'Jeu de Fauvel'. The chant/fable tradition of sung/spoken narratives accompanied by music forms the basis of the dramatization. Additional formal elements were derived from coupling textual material with corresponding structure in such contemporaneous theatricals as interludes, moralities, sotties and puppet shows, as well as the popular tournaments and misrule holidays, such as the Feast of the Ass, or the pairs of itinerant mimes who occasionally illustrated stories during court feasts, adding to the entertainments of acrobats, dancers, puppets and others.

The list of characters prescribed, if taken literally, is unwieldy. Fauvel's followers, 'by the milling thousands do they crowd', and the Vices and Virtues, over thirty of each named, are represented by a cast of ten players in our production. The main characters, Fauvel and Fortune, are played by two mimes. Through the use of masks, the mimes are also able to play Carnality and Virginity—who epitomize the Vices and Virtues. An actor plays the part of the Author (narrator) and the production manager is also a Servant. The six musicians of the Ensemble for Early Music (two singers and four instrumentalists) play Fauvel's Counsellors, the six Vices whose first initials spell Fauvel's name (Flatterie, Avarice, Vilenie, Variété, Envie and Lâcheté) and also Court Musicians. Only the singers are permitted to represent the Virtues as well; the poem suggests that instrumentalists are not virtuous!



All illustrations are from the Ensemble for Early Music's 1976 production, including their handbill on the next page.

Musically, the manuscript contains monophonic Latin-texted *proses, conductus*, plainchant melodies drawn from canonic hours, and French-texted love songs in the form of *lais, rondeaux* and *ballades*. The thirty-three polyphonic motets include ones with secular texts as well as full-blown isorhythmic Latin motets, six of which were contributed by Phillippe de Vitry. Frequently, the musical numbers are placed in pairs with similar texts and form, creating a certain redundancy in the manuscript. It became evident to us that one was being offered a choice rather than an obligation to perform them back-to-back. Accepting this theory, it is reasonable to believe that one has the same option of judicious selection from the entire manuscript, skimming or reinforcing the plot as a particular occasion of performance dictates.

The musical numbers most often complement the texts which immediately precede them on each folio, creating little confusion as to musical cues. The French-texted monophony and motets, more often than not, are introduced by verses such as, 'As once again, my heart's the prey of ardent love, I'll sing this lay:' or, 'He now composes this motet; alas, it does not comfort him:' whereupon the character in question sings in the first person. One particular three-voice motet assigns the *triplum* to Fauvel's Counsellors in a syllabic (quaver), chatty manner, and it appears at a point in the plot where they, obediently, with one voice agree that he should seek Fortune's hand in marriage: 'Go ahead with your work! Fortune should

feel no shame accepting you.' The *motetus* text is clearly the voice of Fauvel who is posing the question to his Counsellors in crotchets, occasionally in quaver dialogue with them: 'I have just recently acquired a lady friend. . . .' The *tenor* is the voice of Fortune, calmly, in dotted minims, rebuking his proposal; 'I, Fortune, have had the spiteful displeasure. . . .' In this motet, then, one hears a triple-layer, dramatic event: Fauvel's proposal plans, his Counsellors' agreement, and Fortune's rejection. This technique of composition parallels the multi-level miniatures in the manuscript which depict simultaneous events.

The Latin motets, serving as impersonal lessons upon the action, prove to be of little use in supporting the flow of the plot but are staged as reflective 'virtuoso arias' creating static miniatures. On the other hand, the *estampie*-like *lais* afford ample opportunity for mimed choreography while monophonic *conductus* and two-voice motets in *conductus* style are performed as processionals. The poem prescribes dancing during Fauvel's wedding banquet and our choreographies reflect folk chain-dances which bear a strong resemblance to contemporary iconography.

Although the manuscript supplies a panorama of musical practices, there is no actual dance-music. Rather than look outside the manuscript for other sources of *estampies*, we adapted one of the energetic *lais* for the purpose. A source used as a reference is the Robertsbridge Fragment. It affords us a glimpse of contemporary techniques of melodic elaboration via keyboard intabulations of two Vitry motets in the *Fauvel* manuscript.

The good fortune of having an entire translation to study and contemplate, with all of its musical interpolations transcribed and collated, makes it quite clear that the *Roman de Fauvel* is something much more than a verbose chronicle with musical interpolations representing a miscellany of styles from the turn of the 13th century. It is a sophisticated, often tongue-in-cheek entertainment, a personal, unified dramatic whole, still pertinent 660 years after creation.

[1] The poet does not hesitate to introduce changes in spelling if this permits him to fit in a play of words. In the same way, he is prone to change verb and noun endings to facilitate rhyme and rhythm. Another source of difficulty is the frequent omission of conjunctions and prepositions, the substitution of singular for plural or masculine for feminine pronouns and vice versa, and a chronic disregard for tense variations. Of course, these and other confusing inaccuracies may have been innocently introduced by careless copyists. Whatever the cause, these irregularities made for a good deal of groping and reconstruction to arrive at an understandable English text. To justify the poem's many inconsistencies, it must be remembered that it was composed at a time of transition between Old French and Middle French when the written language was in a fluid state. Thus, rather than misusing or corrupting the language of his period, the poet may have been anticipating natural linguistic pressures and have helped to forge the language of the later period. The author of the original poem completed in 1310, Gervais du Bus, came from Picardy while the author of the long interpolation written four years after the original, Chaillou de Pesstain, was a Norman. Both spent much of their time at court and their language is therefore bereft of many provincialisms. The poem is truly in the poetic language of the times, with constantly high regard for elegance and style.

The wind band at Louis XIV's court

SUSAN GOERTZEL SANDMAN

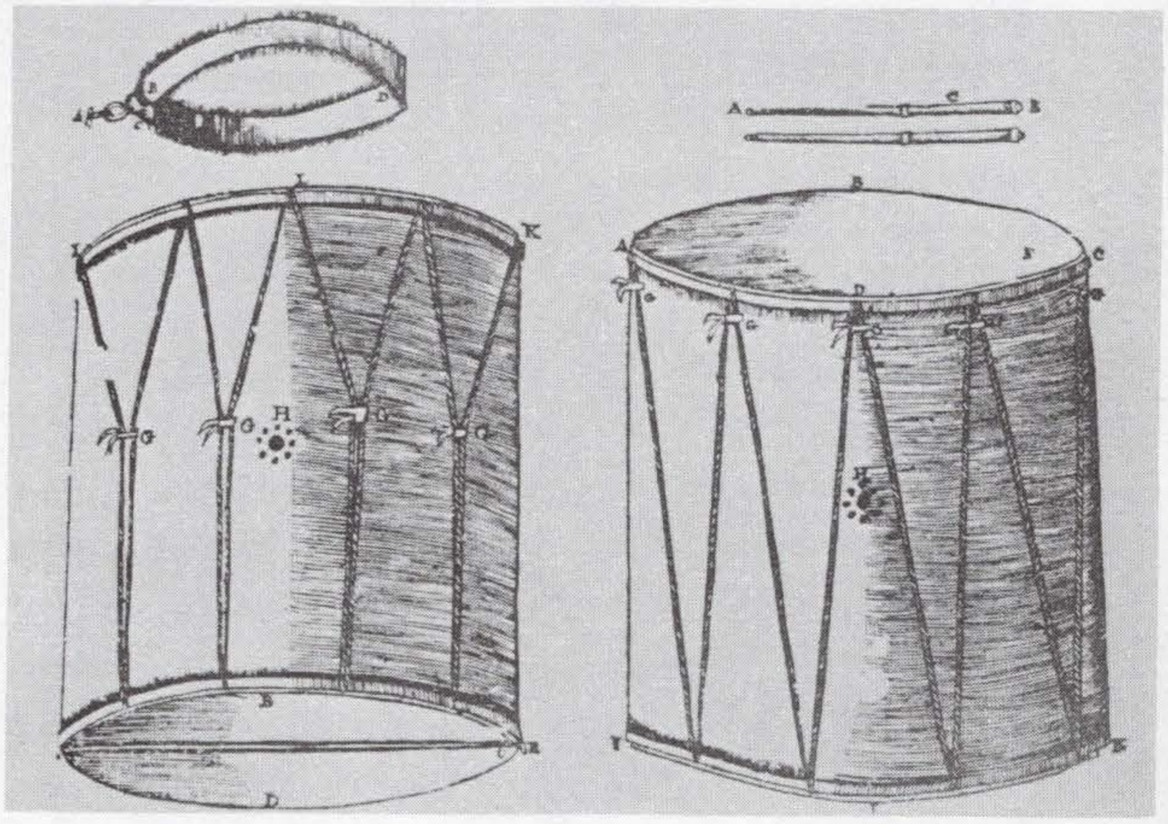
Outdoor music performed by wind bands has resounded throughout the centuries, although the specific instruments and their combinations have varied. A typical 15th-century combination was two shawms and a sackbut; this was expanded by the 16th century to include another shawm, and sometimes two cornettos as well. By the 17th century wind band instruments were again in transition. The occasions for outdoor wind band performance, however, were remarkably similar to those of earlier centuries—dancing, marching, and public rituals of love and death, war and peace.

In preliminary work on my dissertation on wind band music at Louis XIV's court, I came across a manuscript (Ms. Mus. 1163 in the *Bibliothèque municipale* of Versailles) that appears to have been the major repertoire of the eight-player wind band in residence at Versailles. This article examines several aspects of the manuscript—the music itself, the occasions for its performance, and the transition in instrumentation from shawm to oboe. ('Hautbois' at the time, meant both oboe and shawm, a point referred to later.)

Ms. Mus. 1163 is one volume of the Philidor Collection, a large manuscript collection, chiefly of French music copied out at the order of Louis XIV to preserve music from the three areas of performance at court: chamber (including operas and ballets as well as chamber music as we know it today); chapel; and stable (literally '*écurie*', a general term for the outdoor music at court). This volume consists entirely of outdoor music, to be performed by the wind band of the *Grande Écurie*, known as the *Fifres et Tambours*. Entitled 'Partition de Plusieurs Marches et batteries de Tambour tant françoisen qu'Étrangeren, avec les Airs de fifre et de hautbois à 3 et 4 partien . . . 1705'[1] (Several marches and drum beats, as many French as foreign, with airs for fife and *hautbois* in 3 and 4 parts . . .), it includes ninety-one short marches and airs for *hautbois* and snare-drums, four additional marches for one or two pairs of kettledrums alone, four trumpet fanfares, two sets of hunting calls, and the *Carousel de Monseigneur* of 1686 (music for an equestrian ballet) for four trumpets, four *hautbois*, and kettledrums.

All the marches and signal airs—short pieces, often in triple meter, performed originally to communicate

A 17th-century oboe consort, from the bell of a Beuker oboe, Victoria and Albert Museum, No. 808,69



Snare drum and sticks, Mersenne, 'Livre septiesme, des instrumens de percussion', p. 51

La Marche françoise (drum part only)

Air de la Marche françoise

Marches des Mousquetaires

36
Batteries de tambours
Marche du regiments du Roy faite par M.r de Luly
l'an 1670.
Tous les tambours battent la petite marche a la reserve d'un
que sur la marche cy dessus.
L'air des hautbois fait par M.r de Lully

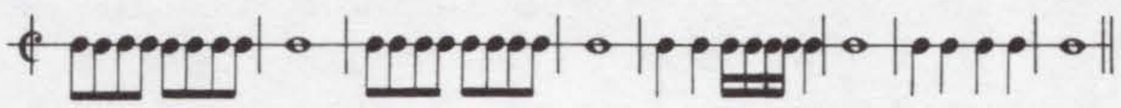
Marche du regiments du Roi (drum part only)
MS. Mus. 1163

such commands as 'retreat' or 'lower weapons' to the soldiers in the field—have written-out drum patterns that were performed by four snare-drummers. The drum patterns were often composed by Jean Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) at the request of Louis XIV so that each regiment in his army could have its own distinctive drumbeat. Apparently the drum parts were composed first, then as many as six four-part wind pieces

were written (sometimes by different composers) to fit with each drum pattern. In the manuscript, marches belonging to a specific regiment or company are often grouped together with the signal airs that belong to the same regiment or company, with each set of marches or airs following its appropriate drum beat. There are 34 sets of marches in all, and 32 signal airs. Most are short, tuneful pieces in binary form.

Some of the rhythmic patterns in the drum beats are traceable to military origins. In the 16th century each European country had a distinct drum pattern regulating the marching of its men. The Swiss beat as given by Arbeau in his *Orchésographie* (1589), for example, was (𝄵 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅝 𝅗𝅥 𝅝 𝅝 𝅝). The Swabian infantry under Emperor Maximillian marched to (C 𝅘𝅥𝅯 𝅘𝅥 𝅘𝅥 𝄾). The French borrowed from Maximillian, using (𝄵 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅝). The drum pattern for one of the finest collections of marches in this manuscript, the *Marche Française*, appears to be a sophisticated variation on this same French drum beat:

First and fourth air from the Marche Francaise by Lully



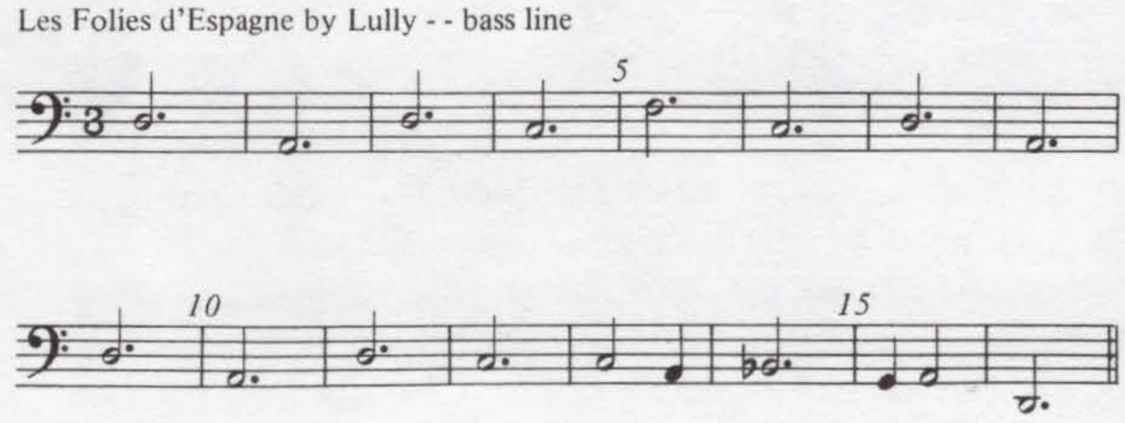
Other drum beats use the prevailing rhythmic patterns of French court dances popular in the ballet and opera music of Lully. Although no dance titles are included for any of the short pieces (except in the *Carousel*) and there is no evidence that they were actually danced to, certain rhythmic patterns found in about two-fifths of these marches and signal airs are characteristic of such dances as bourrées, gavottes, menuets, passepieds, loures, gigues and canaries as they appear in Lully's operas and ballets. The following march with characteristic gavotte rhythmic patterns is a case in point:

Marche faite pour les Mousquetaires du Roy d'Espagne by Jacques Philidor

Jean Baptiste Lully and André Danican-Philidor (*c* 1647–1730) wrote most of the music in this manuscript. Twelve other composers, including four members of the *Fifres et Tambours* and such well known French musicians as Martin Hotteterre and Michel-Richard de Lalande, contributed up to five pieces each. In addition, Lully wrote the *Carousel*, and Philidor the hunting calls that conclude the manuscript.

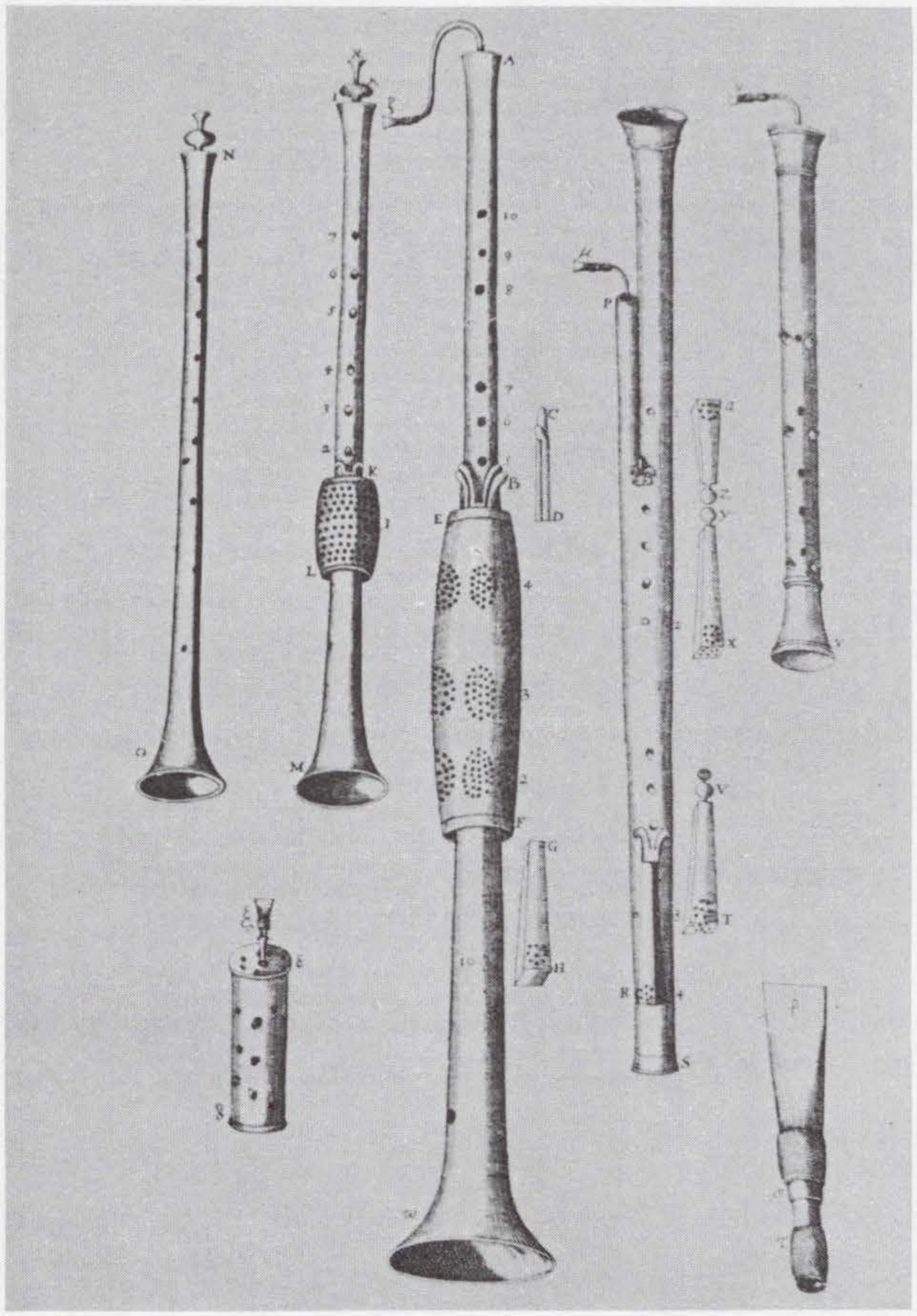
One of the marches in this collection is especially interesting because it is the only march in variation form and is a set of variations over a 'folia bass' (a well-known bass pattern used in the baroque period). The following typical folia bass appears in the march in D minor by Lully, '2^{e} Air des hautbois, Les Folies d'Espagne':

Les Folies d'Espagne by Lully - - bass line



The folia was composed by direct order of Louis XIV in 1672 and belonged to the King's regiment. It uses the same drum beat as the *Marche du Regiment du Roy* written two years earlier, which precedes it in the manuscript.

The folia consists of three balanced sixteen-bar phrases and has a drum part throughout. The texture for the first sixteen bars—the first presentation of the entire folia theme—is homophonic; all the *hautbois* parts and the drum part have the same rhythmic pattern (𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥. 𝅘𝅥𝅯 | 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥 𝅗𝅥), varied only for the hemiola at the cadence. The second sixteen bars are a treble variation. The final sixteen bars are a bass variation. The treble and bass variations consist of running quavers woven around the original parts. The other *hautbois* voices are the same as they were in the first sixteen bars. The drum part, on the other hand, changes patterns every eight bars throughout the piece and is very elaborate.



A Family of Shawms, *from Marin Mersenne,* Harmonie universelle, *1636. (From left to right) treble shawm (top), alto shawm, bass shawm, bassoon, courthaut and racket (bottom). Mersenne, 'Livre cinquiesme, des instrumens a vent',* Harmonie universelle *(Paris, 1636; facsimile edition, Paris: Centre nationale de la recherche scientifique, 1963), p. 302*

All the music in Ms. Mus. 1163 is primarily ceremonial in function. The musicians in the *Fifres et Tambours* had originally accompanied the King's armies during wartime, relaying signals and commands and providing music for marches, but in the late 17th century they became active in the elaborate ritual that attended every act of Louis XIV. Although all the musicians of the *Grande Écurie* (that is, all the performers of outdoor music at court) performed for 'services extraordinaires' (large, formal ceremonies such as weddings, baptisms, coronations and funerals), the *Fifres et Tambours* were the only group of the *Grande Écurie* directly involved with the daily ceremonies at Court. Their duties were varied. Music accompanied many daily routines at Versailles, such as the reading of proclamations, laws and legal decisions; the King's procession to Church, and religious ceremonies on special holidays. The *Fifres et Tambours* also performed for day excursions when the King went to Fontainbleau or Chambord, and greeted his return from longer voyages.

There was an overlap of musicians among the three main musical groups at Versailles—the chamber, chapel and stable (*Écurie*) musicians—as well as considerable sharing of personnel among the small groups within the *Grande Écurie*. A few drummers from the *Fifres et Tambours* were called 'tambours de la chambre du roi' and were used for 'ballets, opera, spectacles and pleasures of His Majesty'.[2] Five members of the *Fifres et Tambours* doubled as chapel or chamber musicians. Four belonged to other groups within the *Grande Écurie*, including the *Trompettes*, the *Grands Hautbois*, and the *Cromornes et Trompettes Marines*.

Perhaps the most famous of the performers in the *Fifres et Tambours* was André Danican-Philidor, the music librarian for Louis XIV who compiled the collection that bears his name. A drummer in the *Fifres et Tambours*, he also played fifth crumhorn and trumpet marine in the *Cromornes et Trompettes Marines*; bass crumhorn in the Chapel; and bassoon solos for the King. He composed and performed in many divertissements for the Court, and contributed twenty-two pieces to the *Fifres et Tambours*' repertoire. André Philidor is the father of the famous opera composer (and chess player) François André (Danican) Philidor, and the brother of Jacques Philidor, another member of the *Fifres et Tambours*.

We know the wind-band at Court from 1689 to 1723 had eight members: four *hautbois* players and four snare-drum players. Precisely which double-reed instruments they would have used is unclear, since '*hautbois*' in 17th-century French usage included both oboe and shawm. Likely combinations of instruments include either (1) two soprano shawms (of the 17th century variety, with a narrower bore and higher range than the earlier renaissance shawms), a tenor shawm, and a dulcian; or (2) two baroque oboes, a tenor oboe, and a dulcian.[3]

Shawm bands were used to perform outdoor music throughout Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. Often appearing in local municipalities, they played for weddings, festivals, and other public rejoicings. Marin Mersenne, in *Harmonie universelle* (1636), lists many uses for shawm bands, and comments on their suitability for their various outdoor functions 'because of the great noise that they make and the great harmony [resonance] that they render, for they have the strongest and most violent tone of all the instruments,

except the trumpet'.[4] However, during the time these pieces were performed at Court, a new instrument, the true oboe, was beginning to replace the old shawm for outdoor performances, and was becoming important in chamber and orchestral music as well.

A variety of sources hint that oboes, which were just becoming popular in the last quarter of 17th-century France, were used in French wind bands to replace shawms. The most relevant study is an article by Eric Halfpenny[5] analysing a miniature carving of early oboes and bassoons found on the bell of an oboe dating from *c* 1690–1700, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London (No. 808,69). The carving shows four musicians standing around a table on which there are three part-books, and playing two treble oboes, a tenor oboe and a bassoon—the perfect consort for Ms. Mus. 1163. It appears, then, that this consort is historically possible as a proper choice for playing the pieces in the manuscript.

The first oboe tutors, published in the last decade of the 17th century, also point to the performance on oboe of the same kinds of pieces as are in Ms. Mus. 1163. One such tutor, John Banister's *The Sprightly Companion* (1695), includes the top part of the 'Marches des Mousquetaires' from Ms. Mus. 1163 as a practice tune; and another, Thomas Crosse's *Military Musicke; Or the Art of Playing on the Oboe* (1697), shows by its title that oboes at that time were used in the performance of military-type music.

In addition, the well-documented instrument manufacturing (of *hautbois, bassons, flûtes, flageolets,* and *musettes*) of the Hotteterre family earlier in the 17th century[6] points to the use of oboes and bassoons for the performance of Ms. Mus. 1163. The co-inventors of the oboe, Jean Hotteterre (*d c* 1691) and Michel Philidor (*d* 1659) were both members of the *Grande Écurie*; it is likely that their descendants would actively continue to perform on the fledgling baroque oboe, in consort as well as chamber music. In any case, the 'new' oboe was thus definitely available for performance of Ms. Mus. 1163.

Analysis of the repertoire itself also provides evidence as to the instruments used. Nearly three-quarters of the pieces have ranges suitable for performance on two treble, one alto and one bass shawm. The high ranges of the top and bottom voices of some of the pieces, however, point to the need for oboes and dulcian for at least a small part of the repertoire. In particular, 17 per cent of the soprano lines and 27 per cent of the bass lines (those that extend up to high c‴ and above c′ respectively) point to a change in instruments from the treble shawm to oboe[7] and from bass shawm to dulcian (bassoon) for at least these pieces.

Clearly written by composers familiar with the shawm/oboe wind-band sound, the music in 'Plusieurs Marches et batteries de tambours . . .' is exceedingly resonant and vibrant, particularly with a full set of snare-drums. Its bombastic pomp and yet simple elegance (three oboes trilling at cadences together!) seem quite fitting to echo in the courtyard at Versailles.

[1] *Bibliothèque municipale* in Versailles. In folio. Other copies of this manuscript are *Rés. F.* 671 and an imperfect copy, D. 7227, both in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in the Paris Conservatory; and a set of parts, ST 255–258 (p 153), in the library at St Michael's College in Tenbury, England.

[2] '. . . quelques tambours se disent tambours de la chambre du roi et servent aux ballets, operas, spectacles et plaisirs de S.M.' *Le Carton* 0'878, extracts from this archival source are contained in Jules Écorcheville, 'Quelques Documents sur la Musique de la Grande Écurie du Roi', *Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft* (1903), pp 617–19.

[3] The dulcian, apparently because of its greater portability, replaced the shawm as the bass member of the wind band. Most of the pieces in this manuscript are playable on bass shawm.

[4] Marin Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle*, 'The Book on Instruments', trans. by Roger E. Chapman (Paris, 1636; The Hague, Netherlands: Marinus Nijhoff, 1957), p 378.

[5] Eric Halfpenny, 'A 17th-century Oboe Consort', *Galpin Society Journal* No. X (May 1957): 60–62, and plates.

[6] Cf. Josef Marx, 'The Tone of the Baroque Oboe: An Interpretation of the History of Double Reed Instruments', *Galpin Society Journal* IV (1951): pp. 3–19 and Ernest Thoinan [Antoine Ernest Roquet], *Les Hotteterres et les Chédevilles*, (Paris: Edmond Sagot, 1894).

[7] If a german-type treble shawm (the 'shalmey') was used, these high notes would be playable. It is not clear, however, that this type of shawm was used in France.

Appendix

Table of contents of Ms. Mus. 1163

Unless otherwise indicated, each composition consists of a drum beat (batterie de tambour) and an air for hautbois (à 4). Those compositions that lack a drum beat are preceded by an asterisk. Inconsistencies in spelling and capitalization reflect the old French in the original manuscript.

1	March de laurenne (Lorraine)	*M. Desmarets*	1
2	La Generale de la garde francoise	*Philidor l'aîné* (drum beat by *Lully*)	2
3	L'Assemblée (air des fifres ou hautbois)		4
4	La Marche francoise		
a	L'ordonanse pour le fifre		5
b	1e air	*Lully*	6
c	2e air	*Lully*	8
d	3e air	*M. de Moliere*	9
e	4e air	*Lully*	10
f	Marche royalle	*Philidor l'aîné*	11
g	La Descente des armes	*Philidor l'aîné* (drum beat by *Lully*)	12
h	2e air du mesure		13
i	La Retraite	*Philidor l'aîné*	13
5	La Marche des Fanatiques		16
a	*1er air		16

b *2e air			17
6 Marche des Mousquetaires			
a 1er air	*Lully*		19
b 2e air	*Lully*		20
c 3e air	*Lully*		21
d 4e air	*Lully* (*Philidor* wrote the inner parts for d., e. and f.)		22
e 5e air	*Lully*		23
f 6e air	*Lully*		24
g L'Assemblée	*Roziers*		26
h La Retraite	*Lully*		28
i La Descente des Armes	*Philidor l'aîne*		30
7 Marche	*Philidor l'aîne*		31
8 L'Air des hautbois	*Philidor l'aîne* (drum beat by *Lully*)		32
9 Marche des Gardes de la Marinne	*Lully*		34
10 Marche du Régiment du Roy	*Lully*		
a 1e air			36
b 2e air, Les Folies d'espagne			37
11 La Marche des dragons du Roy			
a 1e air			40
b 2e air			40
c La Retraite	*Philidor le Cadet*		42
d La Descente des armes	*Philidor le Cadet*		43
e La Generale	*Philidor le Cadet*		44
12 Marche des fussillier	*Martin Hotteterre* (drum beat by *Lully*)		46
13 Marche des Boulonnois	*Philidor le fils l'aîné*		
a 1e air			48
b 2e air			49
c L'Assemblée			50
d La Retraite			51
14 La Marche des Grenadiers			
a 1e air	*Philidor l'aîné*		52
b 2e air			53
c 3e air			53
15 La Marche Suisse			
a 1e air	*Pierre Philidor*		54
b 2e air	*M. de Lalande*		54
c 3e air en trio	*M. de Lalande*		54
d 4e air	*Philidor l'aîné*		55
16 Marche du Régiment de Saluced	*Philidor l'aîné*		57
17 *Marche du Régiment des gardes Anglais			59
18 Marche de la Compagnie des Canoniers de la Rochelle	*Philidor l'aîné*		
a 1e air			60
b 2e air			61
c L'Assemblée			62
d La Retraite			63
19 Marche Greque			64
20 Marche Liegeoise	*Philidor l'aîné*		68
21 Marche Holandoises	*Philidor l'aîné*		68
22 Marche des Dragons de Monterey	*Lully.*		70
23 Ballet des Muses pour les Indiens	*Lully*		
a 1e air			72
b 2e air			73
24 Marche de Savoye	*Lully*		
a 1e air			74
b 2e air			75
c L'Assemblée			76
d 2e air			77
e La Retraite			78
25 Marche du Roy de la Chine	*Philidor l'aîné*		79
26 *La Marche du Régiment de Prince Charles de Brandebourg (two parts missing)	*Ruck*		80
27 *La Marche du Prince de l'Orange (two parts missing)			81
28 La Marche Allemande (drum beat only)			82
29 (Three drum beats)			83
30 *Marche des forcats des Galeces turques (one part missing)			87
31 *La Marche des Barbets du Duc de Savoye			
a 1e air			88
b 2e air (two parts missing)			89
32 Batterie de tambour des masques			91
33 *La Marche Escossoises (treble only)			92
34 *La Marche du Régiment des Gardes			93
35 *Marche des Dragons Polonaise (two parts missing)			94
36 *Marche Polonaise (two parts missing)			98
37 *La Marche des Janissaires			102
38 Batteries de Timballes			
a Marche à 2 timballes	*Philidor l'aîné* and *Philidor le Cadet*		106
b Marche de timballes	*Philidor le Cadet*		112
c Marche de timballe	*M. Babelon*		113
d Marche de Timballe pour les gardes du Roy	*M. Babelon*		114
39 (Four trumpet fanfares)			
a Prelude pour le bruit de Guerre			
1e Prelude			
2e Prelude			
3e Prelude			116
b 1e Appel du bout de Seel			
1 Couplet			
2 Couplet			
3 Couplet . . . 13 Couplet			116
c A Cheval			
1 Couplet			
2 Couplet . . . 5 Couplet			117
d La Marche			
1 Couplet			
2 Couplet . . . 5 Couplet			117
40 La Marche Royalle (for three hautbois and kettledrums)			122
41 Marche des Pompes funêbre (for three hautbois and snaredrums)	*Philidor l'aîné*		128
42 Carousel de Monseigneur en 1686	*Lully*		
a Prelude de trompettes et timballes et hautbois de la Grande Écurie			129
b Menuet			137
c Gigue			139
d Gavotte (four parts missing)			142
43 Marche des Mousquetaires du Roy d'Espagne (The remaining pieces are written for treble and bass only.)	*M. Desjardins*		
a L'Air			144
b L'Assemblée			145
c La Retraite			146
d Le Drapeau			146
44 Marche des Mousquetaires du Roy d'Espagne	*M. Mathau*		
a L'air	*M. Mathau* (drum beat by *Philidor l'aîné*)		148
b L'Assemblée	*M. Mathau* (drum beat by *Philidor l'aîné*)		149
c La Retraite	*M. Mathau* (drum beat by *Philidor l'aîné*)		150
d Le Drapeau	*M. Mathau*		151

45 Marche des Mousquetaires du Roy d'Espagne — *Philidor la Cadet*
- a 1e air — 152
- b 2e Marche — 153
- c La Descente des armes — 154
- d L'Assemblée — 155
- e La Retraitte — 156
- f La Generalle — 157

46 Marche des Boulonnais — *Philidor l'aîné*
- a L'Air des hautbois — 158
  L'Assemblée (music missing)
- b La Descente de Drapeau — 159
- c La Retraitte — 160
- d La Géneralle — 161

47 (Horn calls for the hunt)
- a Tous les Appels de trompe pour la chasse — 172
  Premier appel
  Pour le chien
  Pour la voye
  Le Defaut
  La Fanfare
  La Retraitte
  La Sourcillade
- b Autre appels de chasse — *Philidor l'aîné* — 179
  Premier appel
  Pour le chiens
  Pour la voye
  Le Defaut
  La Fanfare
  La Retraitte
  La Sourcillade

Les Folies d'Espagne — Jean Baptiste Lully

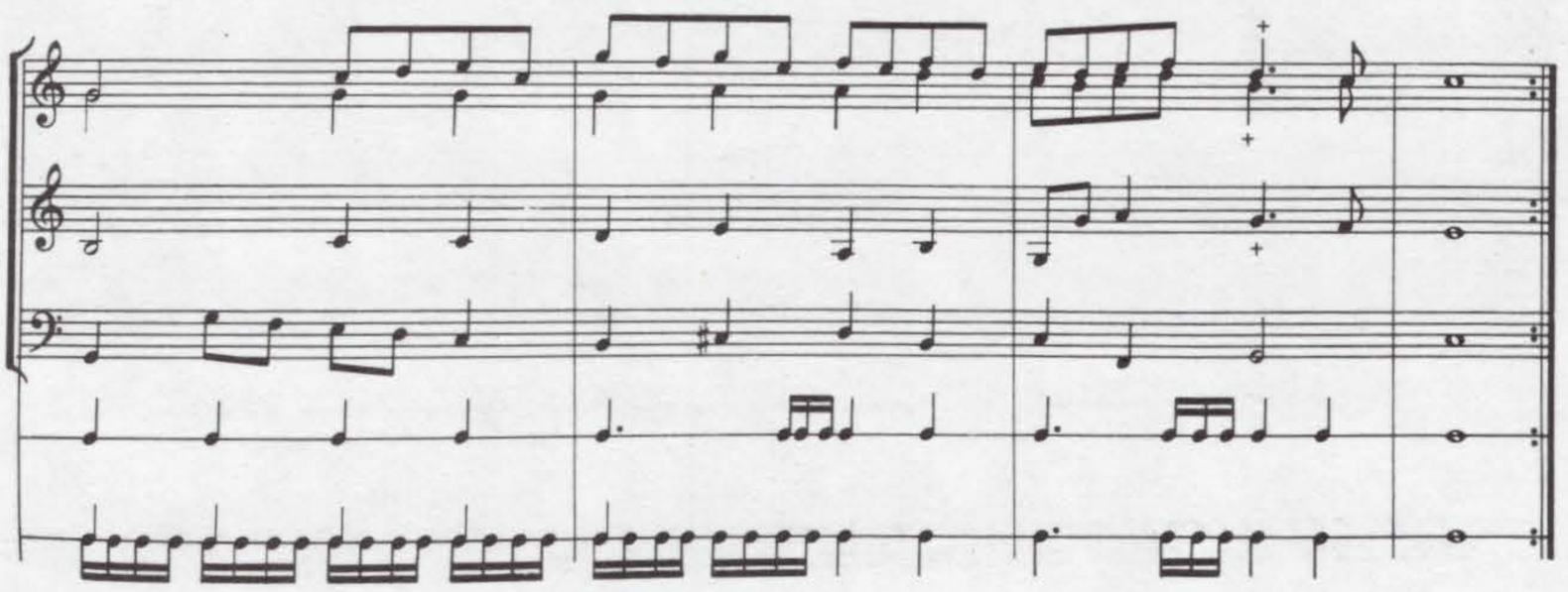
La Marche des Mousquetaires
(No. 1 and 5 from a set of 6)

Jean Baptiste Lully

10

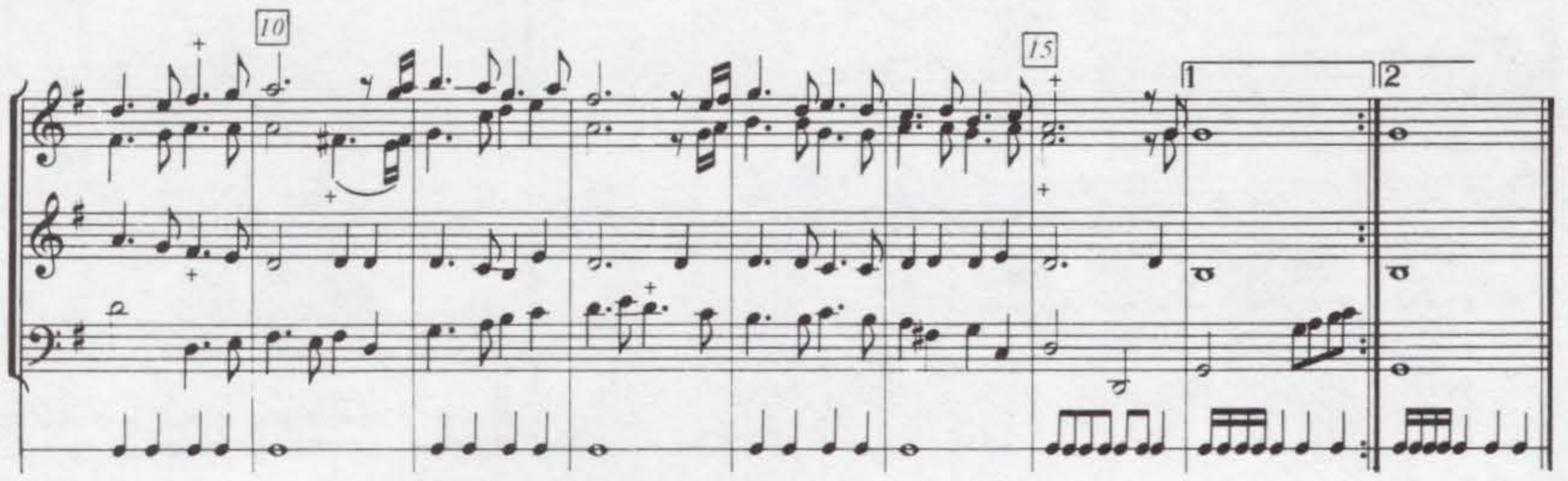
15

(The parts composed by Philidor l'aîne
5



La marche Française
(No. 1 and 4 from a set of 5)

Jean Baptiste Lully



Instructions for performers

Snare-drum parts

Note heads written with double stems (𝅗𝅥, see *Les folies d'Espagne*) are performed with two drum sticks beating at the same time. The continuous semiquavers (sixteenth-notes) which conclude *La Marche des Mousquetaires* should probably be performed as a roll.

In *La Marche des Mousquetaires*, perform the top drum part the first time through the second section of the march, and the bottom drum part the second time. In *Les folies d'Espagne*, however, one drummer should play the top part (marked solo), and the others the bottom.

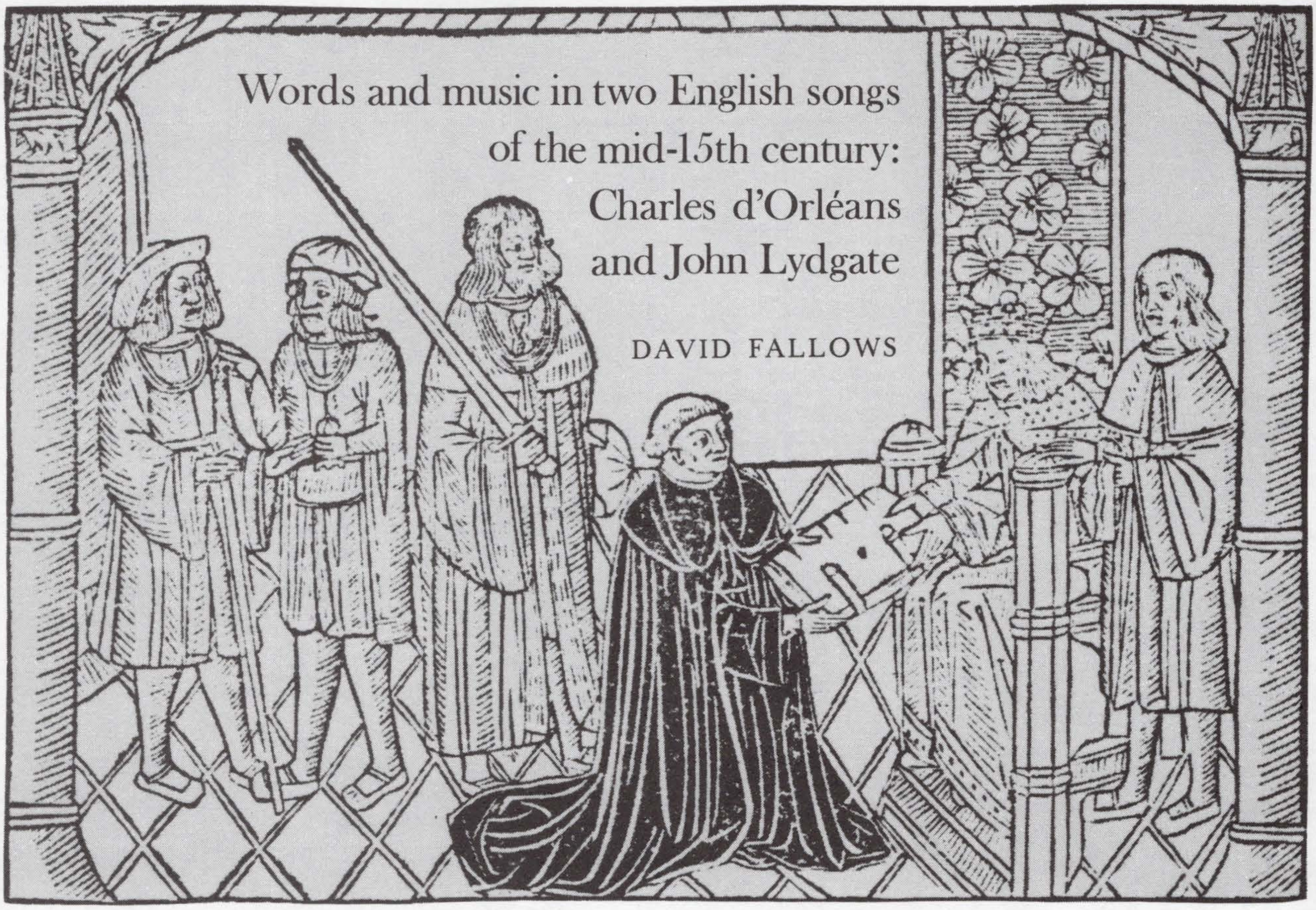
Wind parts

The trills that were indicated in the manuscript by a cross (+) are included in this edition. Other trills may be added in performance, and are particularly suitable at cadences.

Detail from 'Louis XIV as Protector of the Academies', engraving by J. Mariette, after J. B. Corneille

Words and music in two English songs of the mid-15th century: Charles d'Orléans and John Lydgate

DAVID FALLOWS



In an earlier contribution to this journal I described how two more songs of Dufay could be reconstructed if the incompletely or incorrectly texted music was united with a complete poem in an anthology of the time.[1] Three conditions were necessary: the text fragments copied into the musical source had to match the opening of the poem in the anthology closely enough for any differences to be relatively easily explained as scribal corruption; the form of the poem had to match that of the music; and the poetry source had to be an approximately contemporary one containing other texts for which musical settings were known. With those conditions filled, as they were with both Dufay songs, everything fitted together easily. The two English song-reconstructions in this issue's music supplement seem at first sight to fill very few of the conditions, so the arguments to justify them are slightly more complicated, but they are offered here for the sake of the light they throw on other fundamental characteristics of song setting and song sources in the 15th century.

1. Charles d'Orléans

Ten years ago Daniel Poirion drew attention to the polyphonic song *Mon seul plaisir, ma doulce joye* and pointed out that its text was by Charles d'Orléans except that the first line had been changed from *Ma seule, plaisant, doulce joye:* apart from that opening the poem in the musical sources and the one in the collections of Charles's poetry are identical.[2] What may come as a surprise is that the seven manuscripts of the duke's poem listed by Champion in his edition[3] all agree on one reading, while all fourteen musical sources for the song[4] agree on the other: in between these two categories of sources, so to speak, are two poetry manuscripts each of which contains both versions of the poem. These two manuscripts are both anthologies compiled with an obvious sense of purpose and containing groups of poems by Charles d'Orléans as well as a large number of poems that appear in the song collections: thus in the British Library MS Lansdowne 380[5] the *Mon seul plaisir* version of the poem appears on f.238*v* among other poems for

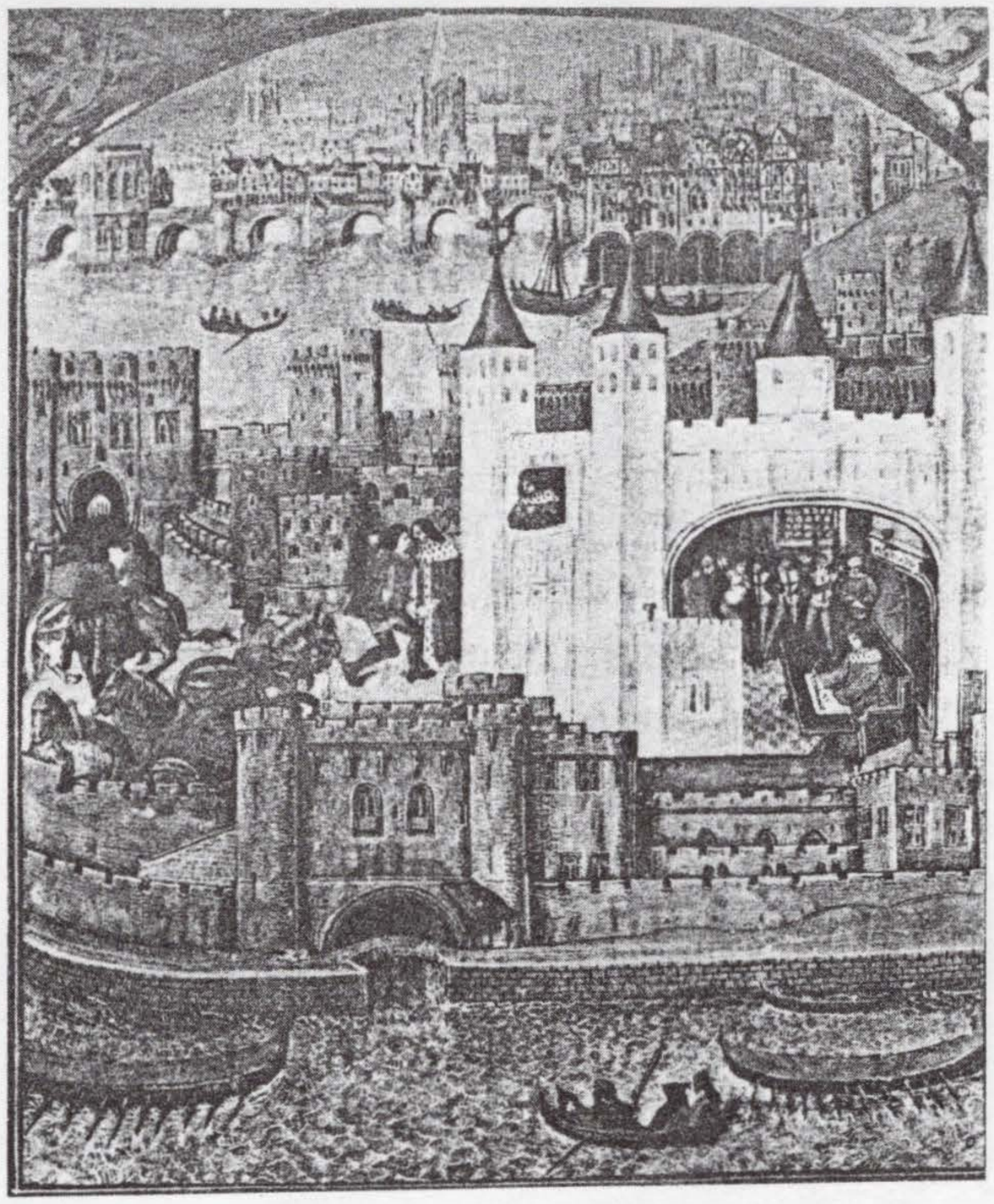
which musical settings are known whereas Charles's *Ma seule plaisant* is only a few pages earlier on f.227 in a group of his poems; and a similar situation obtains in the Rohan chansonnier at Berlin[6] with *Mon seul plaisir* on f.82*v* and the other version on f.121.

It is possible that the copyists of the Lansdowne and Rohan manuscripts never realized they had copied substantially the same poem twice: whatever the level of the thought in Charles's poem, the words and phrases are all commonplaces—and a copyist copies phrases, not ideas. Yet it looks as though the poem had two clearly defined versions, the 'sung' version having a life entirely independent of what one may term the 'spoken' or 'written' version,[7] the version authenticated by inclusion in Charles's own autograph manuscript and by copying into several manuscripts owned by his circle of friends.[8]

Should the difference between the two be seen as a mere copyist's whim, ignorantly repeated? Or is the written version (earliest source *c* 1440) perhaps a more mature revision of an earlier state which happens to be preserved in the musical setting (earliest source *c* 1460 but on stylistic grounds probably composed nearer 1440)? Or was the sung version merely a result of an attempt to poach a poem while concealing its true source by changing the opening? Such explanations are all possible; but there may also be a musical explanation, one that arises from a contemporary English version of the same poem.

British Library MS Harley 682 contains English versions of practically all the poems Charles wrote during the years of his long captivity in England from 1415 to 1440.[9] In format, layout and scope the volume is precisely comparable to the first (original) layer of Charles's own autograph manuscript of the French poems (Paris, Bibl. nat. f.fr.25458), thought to have been compiled shortly after his return to France; but whereas the French manuscript contains further poems added over the final twenty-five years of the poet's life, the English one is uniform throughout.

Opinions differ concerning the authorship of these English versions, all of which closely match the form, content and tone of the French poems: literary scholars agree that they are more or less contemporary, however, so it may be imagined that any modern student of 15th-century English song who happened to read Poirion's identification of the poem *Mon seul plaisir* as a work of Charles d'Orléans and who happened to know (as Champion did not) that the music was by the Englishman John Bedyngham[10] would be eager to underlay the English text to the



Charles d'Orléans, prisoner in the Tower of London, British Library, MS Royal 16 F. ii, f.73v

music. It is a close translation of the poem, and although no musical source contains the English words the two versions match far more closely than do most other examples of twice-texted songs in the 15th century. As a reconstruction it is at least viable.

One school of literary opinion holds that the English poems are Charles's own work and even that the English versions may have preceded the French versions in certain cases.[11] If this is true, and if Bedyngham, a composer who may never have left England,[12] had originally written his music to this English text there is a possible explanation for the change in the French version: the standard French translation simply did not fit the opening of the music well enough, and since it was in any case a translation, the adapter of the French text to the music preferred to change those three words at the most crucial place in the French text.

The difference between the musical and written versions of the French poem may therefore be explained as in ex.1: the English poem has a caesura after the fourth syllable—something relatively common in both French and English lyric poetry of the time—and with it comes a certain identity for the opening phrase, a move towards the fourth note where

Ex. 1

the music rests momentarily before proceeding.[13] And although there are other possible explanations for the change in the first line of the French poem, this one makes sense in terms of the 15th-century consciousness of songs and song titles: much of the literary tradition of the century is taken up with citations of openings, the first few words or the first few notes,[14] so there is a particular sensitivity in this opening phrase and if its entire rhythmic impact is changed—as it assuredly is with the *Ma seule plaisant* opening—an important part of that identity is lost.

Bearing in mind the lack of a final word from the literary historians on the authorship and position of the 'English Poems of Charles of Orleans', the available conclusions may be listed as follows: (1) whoever wrote the English, it is sufficiently close as an English equivalent to the poem that appears in all sources of the music to justify presenting that text with the music; (2) if the English poem is as early as 1440 it may well have been known to Charles, perhaps also gaining his approval, and if the argument outlined above is accepted it is likely that Bedyngham originally set the English poem; (3) if, on the other hand, the English is actually by Charles there is even the possibility that the duke and the composer met; and (4) if, as Steele believed, the original version of the poem was the English, the argument above may be taken to suggest that the only correct reconstruction of the song would be the one with English text.

A further consideration is important here, however: the French poem and the English poem have the same form, that of a four-line rondeau, but the French is in eight-syllable lines whereas the English is in ten-syllable lines. This is a relatively common difference between French and English versions of the Charles d'Orléans poetry, as indeed it is more generally between French and English lyric poetry of the 15th century.[15] But it does raise the questions as to the applicability of the English text to the music which survives exclusively with a poem whose metrical structure is different. Was the 15th-century song repertory so indifferent to metre that such a change did not matter? And if not, one may ask, does it not seem likely that one or other text must be demonstrably wrong for the music? Comparison of the English and French versions might suggest that the texting in the English version is too crowded, particularly since the addition of the text with the ten-syllable line makes it necessary at one point to underlay three syllables of text beneath a three-note ligature—a procedure which, though often enough necessary in 15th-century music, may well cause some raised eyebrows. Yet closer inspection in what I believe may be the only relevant way leads to the conclusion that the difference does matter and that the ten-syllable line actually suits the music better.

This conclusion arises from comparison of *Mon seul plaisir/Mi verry joy* with the only similar song among the works of Bedyngham, the rondeau *Durer ne puis,*[16] a song that survives right next door to *Mon seul plaisir* in its only complete source and seems stylistically very close. It is slightly longer because it has more expansive melismas before the two main cadences, but otherwise its style is similar except that its poem has a ten-syllable line. The diagram below gives a comparative table of the length and number of actual notes in the Discantus part for each line of the two songs:

		line 1	line 2	closing melisma	line 3	line 4	closing melisma
Mon seul plaisir	bars	9	5	2	5	6	4
(8-syllable line)	notes	36	18	5	11	22	22
Durer ne puis	bars	9	5	5	6	6	7
(10-syllable line)	notes	34	19	15	16	22	29

The astonishingly close agreement of these figures except in the two closing melismas confirms the impression that the two Bedyngham rondeaux are directly comparable and that if the ten-syllable line of *Durer ne puis* is suitable for the one, then the ten-syllable line of the English *Mi verry joy* is at least not unsuitable for the other. And the figures may even be taken as suggesting that *Mi verry joy* fits the music rather better than does the French text *Mon seul plaisir*.

2. John Lydgate

Among the few pieces with English text in the continental sources of 15th-century song is a work first published by Manfred Bukofzer:[17] it appears uniquely in the Escorial chansonnier IV.a.24, probably Neapolitan and dating from the 1460s,[18] and has only two lines of text which are underlaid to the Discantus part:

Princhesse af youth and floree of god li he de
Che per fight meror of alt gentilnesse.

Even as far as it goes the text is problematic. *Che* for *the*

and *floree* for *floure* are easily enough corrected, but further steps must be taken with caution, for R. J. Menner has shown how the considerably more complete and convincing texts for three English songs in a slightly later Neapolitan chansonnier were seriously garbled.[19] In the present case it is likely, however, that at least the first three words are correct, for they are cited by John Skelton in his early poem *The Bowge of Courte*.[20] In it Harvy Hafter asks Drede (line 253):

> *Princes of yougthe* can ye synge by rote?[21]

and he declares that he himself cannot read music, thereby implying that the song he has mentioned was not a folksong but an art song, something at least of the complexity of the Escorial piece.

Later, in his last major work, *The Garlande of Laurell,* Skelton used the phrase again in the refrain—the part where a citation would characteristically appear—of his ballade 'to my Lady Anne Dakers of the Sowth' (lines 897-8, 904-5):

> Princes of yowth and flowre of goodly porte,
> Vertu, conyng, solace, pleasure, comforte![22]

It would be wrong, however, to interpret the closeness of this citation to the entire first line in the Escorial version as meaning that this is the correct reading of the original first line: such citations, as we noted above, often do not continue past the fourth syllable, for after that puns and adaptations were the requirements of an apt citation; moreover there is a far more complete poem that fits the music and almost matches the surviving text.

This poem appears in the body of one of the most widely copied longer poems of the 15th century,[23] John Lydgate's *The Temple of Glas*.[24] It is not much read today, and indeed Schick, on editing it and laying the groundwork of modern Lydgate scholarship, estimated that its 'poetical value, when measured by an absolute standard should be: Very small, almost nil'. Fourteen hundred lines long, it consists of narrative sections in heroic couplets interspersed with speeches from the three protagonists (Venus and the two lovers) cast in sets of seven-line rhyme royal stanzas. The third set of such stanzas comes after a section of some forty lines in couplets in which the Lover is described preparing to approach the Lady and declare his love; and the poem with which he then does so becomes the central moment of *The Temple of Glas,* unmistakably set off from the preceding section by that change from couplets to stanzas. It begins:

> Pryncesse of youthe, and floure of gentylesse,
> Ensaumple of vertu, grounde of courteysye.

In the foreground, a pilgrim presents The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man *to Thomas Montacute, 4th Earl of Salisbury. Lydgate, in the habit of a monk, is on the extreme left. British Library MS Harley 4826, f. 1*

Once again, this opening does not precisely match that in the Escorial manuscript, but it is close enough to be a very strong candidate: the form is correct (as we shall see), the opening matches, the divergence of the remainder is slightly ameliorated by the use of the word *gentylesse* (or *gentilnesse*) in both, and the general meaning (so far as one is discernible from the Escorial poem) is similar. And in view of the wide readership of *The Temple of Glas*[25] it seems likely that even if the Escorial scribe relayed a text more correct than I suspect and that the song sets something different from what Lydgate wrote,[26] at least the poem would have been based on Lydgate's, and there would be very little danger in underlaying Lydgate's poem to the music.

Perhaps the strongest argument against this identification would be the apparently late style of the music, its strongly motivated structural imitation and its mensuration implying a date around 1450, whereas the poem is certainly not later than 1420 and is considered by some to be as early as 1400.[27] Yet the

evidence of fifteenth-century Petrarch settings shows that not all song texts were necessarily new.[28] Moreover the form fits in this case. Musical settings of the ballade or rhyme royal stanza had certain characteristics throughout the 14th and 15th centuries: they had two sections of which the first was repeated (to set the first four lines which almost invariably rhymed *abab*) and both sections ended with a brief passage of 'musical rhyme'. The repeat, the double bar, the musical rhyme and indeed also the proportions of the two sections in the Escorial song are sufficient evidence that it is a ballade or rhyme royal setting. What may disturb the sceptical reader and suggest that the Lydgate poem is not the correct one for the music is so much more widely-spaced a texting than appears in *Mi verry joy* and in particular the long untexted melismas. The justification for this matching is most easily explained in three stages:

1. The music (like the poem) is in ballade form, perhaps the most courtly of the song forms in the 15th century, certainly one that is characterized by more extended composition than is the rondeau which often reveals an extreme structural tightness (as in *Mi verry joy*).

2. Practically all ballades begin with four lines rhyming *abab* and underlaid as they are in the music supplement. A ballade with an opening section of six lines is for all practical purposes non-existent, as is one with lines of more than ten syllables.[29] If the poem is a ballade, then (as we have agreed it must be), the texting cannot conceivably be more dense than it is here unless we are dealing with some kind of formal freak. And comparison with other ballade settings from the 15th century will encourage the opinion that this is correct and not a freak at all.

3. If the texting in the first half of the song is correct, the second half could scarcely be more densely texted or it would create an imbalance that is contrary to the style of the music. Here there are formal alternatives within the poem: ballades with a second half of three, four, five or even six lines are easily found; but the pattern of expectations set up by the first half of the song strongly supports the three-line second half.

Lydgate's famous poem therefore fits the music well, though the nature of its texting is entirely different from that of the Charles d'Orléans rondeau: if the first half of *Pryncesse of youthe* had been a rondeau it would almost certainly have required a four-line text (without the repeat), but as a ballade it follows different criteria and needs only two lines. Thus each poem fits its music metrically according to the conventions of its tradition.

So whereas both songs discussed here survive in the musical manuscripts with texts rather different from those added to them in the music supplement, there is much to suggest that the texts were not merely garbled but also consciously adapted in the course of transmission. The restored texts are surely admissible, thereby adding two more tentative candidates to the paltry number of surviving English songs from the mid-15th century; and in both cases there is even a considerable likelihood that the restored texts are the correct ones. They in their turn emphasize the point that any further attempt to understand the English song traditions of the 15th century must begin with a closer look for adapted works among the continental manuscripts.

[1] D. Fallows, 'Two More Dufay Songs Reconstructed', *Early Music,* iii (1975), 358-60, and 'A Postscript to "Two More Dufay Songs Reconstructed"', *Early Music,* iv (1976), 99; the songs are edited as Early Music Series, no. 23.

[2] D. Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Grenoble, 1965), 165. Poirion's subsequent comment that the rondeau *Mon espoir et ma souvenance* is a 'réplique féminine' is less convincing since it is contradicted by the strong difference in musical style between the two songs. It is in fact a comment similar in nature to that offered by Pierre Champion who many years ago described *Mon seul plaisir* as being based on Charles d'Orléans but pointed to the wrong original, *Mon seul amy, mon bien, ma joye*, a rondeau that shares nothing with *Mon seul plaisir* except a few commonplace words in the opening line; see P. Champion, 'Du succès de l'oeuvre de Charles d'Orléans et de ses imitateurs jusqu'au XVI[e] siècle', *Mèlanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* (Paris, 1913), 409-20, on p. 419; the information was also cited by E. Droz and A. Piaget in their important commentary to *Le jardin de plaisance* (Paris, S.A.T.F., 1925), 113.

[3] See P. Champion, ed., *Charles d'Orléans: Poésies* (Paris, Librairie Honoré Champion, 1923-7/*R*1966), p 213 for the poem *Ma seule plaisant,* p. 565 for list of sources and pp. VIIIff for descriptions of the manuscripts.

[4] See H. Besseler, ed., *Guillelmi Dufay: Cantiones* (Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae, I/6, 1964), p. 108 for the song (among the *opera dubia*), pp. LXVf for list of sources and pp. XVff for descriptions of the manuscripts. Two further sources for the music are Copenhagen, Det kongelige bibliotek, Ny kgl. samling 1848 2°, p. 431, and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Mus.Ms.9659, f.4*r*, on which see C. Petzsch, 'Fragment mit acht dreistimmigen Chansons, darunter Lochamer Liederbuch Nr. 18', *Die Musikforschung,* xxvii (1974), 319-22.

[5] Described in N. H. Wallis, ed., *Anonymous French Verse,* pp. xiv-xvi (London, 1929).

[6] Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 B 17; described and fully edited in M. Löpelmann, *Die Liederhandschrift des Cardinals de Rohan,* Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, xliv (Göttingen, 1923).

[7] This idea begs certain questions but is supported to some extent by the distribution of song texts among French poetry collections of the 15th century. Many anthologies contain no poems known to have been set to music while others contain a large proportion of such songs—and it is difficult to see any outward differences between the two kinds of sources.

[8] On the manuscripts see the preface to Champion's edition cited in n.3 above and P. Champion, *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans,* Bibliothèque du XV[e] siècle, iii (Paris, 1907); for further details see J. Fox, ed., *Charles d'Orléans: choix de poésies,* Textes littéraires, ix (Exeter, 1973), viiiff. It might be added that Charles is a poet strongly connected with music. The English manuscript and his own French autograph manuscript both have (or had), above many of the rondeaux, spaces into which music was apparently to be copied, see Nils L. Wallin, 'Zur Deutung der Begriffe Faburden-Fauxbourdon', *Svensk tidskrift för musikforskning,* xxxv (1953), 74-84, esp. 80-82. Contemporary polyphonic settings survive for three other poems of his: *Mon cuer chante* (Binchois), *Je ne prise point* (anon., Escorial IV.a.24 and Paris, f.fr.15123) and *Va tost, mon amoureux desir* (anon., Escorial IV.a.24 and elsewhere); his poems show a substantial understanding of music; and the documents of his life contain much to attest his musical patronage, see, as a starting point, E. McLeod, *Charles of Orleans: Prince and Poet* (London, 1969).

[9] Described and fully edited in R. Steele and M. Day, *The English Poems of Charles of Orleans* (London, E.E.T.S., 1941-6, rev. 2/1970 with bibliographical supplement by Cecily Clark). The revised edition has a good summary of recent literature on the subject of the English poems; it should perhaps be supplemented by the German items mentioned in T. Stemmler, 'Zur Verfasserfrage der Charles d'Orléans zugeschriebenen englischen Gedichte', *Anglia,* lxxxii (1964), 458-73.

[10] The source with the Bedyngham ascription, Oporto, Biblioteca pública municipal, MS 714, has been known since the publication of that library's catalogue in 1880, but was not drawn to the attention of the literary world until 1926 when G. Moldenhauer reported briefly on it in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen,* cli (1926), 69-76, esp. pp. 75f. Only in 1964 was the music published (see n.4) in an edition by H. Besseler who gave full reasons for believing it to be a work of Bedyngham in spite of a single contrary ascription to Dufay. I have suggested additional reasons in 'Robertus de Anglia and the Oporto Song Collection' forthcoming in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: a Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, ed. I. D. Bent and M. Tilmouth (London, ?1977).

[11] See Steele and Day, op. cit. (n.9), p. xxvi.

[12] Documentation of this statement must await another occasion; but in brief, he seems to have been born in Oxford in 1422, educated at Winchester College and at New College, Oxford, and reported dead at Westminster in 1459 or 1460.

[13] The manner of marking this is borrowed from G. W. Cooper and L. B. Meyer, *The Rhythmic Structure of Music* (Chicago, 1960), where some further implications of the system are discussed.

[14] For a demonstration see H. M. Brown 'A Catalogue of Theatrical Chansons', in his *Music in the French Secular Theater, 1400-1550* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 183-282. In addition, another aspect of the same tradition appears from the ways in which *Pryncesse of youthe* was quoted (see below).

[15] See the works cited in n.29 below and Steele and Day, op. cit., p. 302. One might also consider that the two surviving Italian *lauda* texts for the music of *Mon seul plaisir* both have a ten-syllable line: *Nessun piacere ho senza te, Gesù* and *Madre che festi colui che ti fece,* both edited in G. Galletti, *Laude spirituali di Feo Belcari . . . e di altri* (Florence, 1863), 33, 103; moreover Bedyngham's (or possibly Walter Frye's) English ballade *So ys emprentid in my remembraunce,* with ten-syllable lines, appears in three sources with a French text whose lines are eight syllables long: *Pour une suis desconforté.*

[16] See M. F. Bukofzer, ed., *John Dunstable: Complete Works*, Musica Britannica, viii (London, 1953, rev.2/1970 by M. Bent, I. Bent and B. Trowell), 156, where it is edited among the 'Compositions of Doubtful Authorship'. The editors are satisfied that it is by Bedyngham, not Dunstable to whom it is ascribed above an incomplete version in the manuscript Escorial IV.a.24; further arguments for Bedyngham's authorship appear in my article cited above in n.10.

[17] M. F. Bukofzer, 'The First English Chanson on the Continent', *Music and Letters*, xix (1938), 119-31; shortly afterwards Bukofzer was to discover three possibly earlier English chansons in the Mellon manuscript and he then suggested an emendation of the title to 'An Early English Chanson . . .'; see Bukofzer, 'An Unknown Chansonnier of the 15th Century (The Mellon Chansonnier)', *The Musical Quarterly,* xxviii (1942), 14-49, on p 24.

[18] See, most recently, A. W. Atlas, *The Cappella Giulia Chansonnier,* Musicological Studies, xxvii (Brooklyn, 1975), 242.

[19] R. J. Menner, 'Three Fragmentary English Ballades in the Mellon Chansonnier', *Modern Language Quarterly,* vi (1945), 381.

[20] Mentioned by Bukofzer, 'An Unknown Chansonnier . . .' (1943), see n.17 above.

[21] See A. Dyce, ed., *The Poetical Works of John Skelton* (London, 1843), i. 40; the poem is generally dated 1498, see M. Pollet, *John Skelton* (Paris, 1962; Eng. trans., 1968), 32.

[22] See A. Dyce, op. cit., i, 376f; dated 1523.

[23] The identification seems to have been published first in R. H. Robbins and J. L. Cutler, *Supplement to the Index of Middle English Verse* (Lexington, Ky., 1965), xxi, but in a manner that has eluded most subsequent musical scholarship.

[24] See J. Schick, ed., *Lydgate's Temple of Glas* (London, E.E.T.S., 1891/*R*1924), 40; in his notes Schick drew attention to the two Skelton citations and to what is in fact a far more distant resemblance in line 843 of the later poem *The Court of Love,* once thought to be by Chaucer but since November 1876 shown by Skeat to be spurious and probably from the 16th century, see W. W. Skeat, ed., *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Oxford, 1897), lxxiff, 409ff, 431.

[25] C. Brown and R. H. Robbins, *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), app.V.

[26] If the Escorial scribe was being more accurate than I think, there is much to be said for J. B. Trend's suggestion that it was a fragment of a sacred poem, a Marian eulogy in the vernacular, see 'Musikschätze auf spanischen Bibliotheken', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft,* viii (1926), 499, on p. 500. Bukofzer rejected the idea, see 'The First English Chanson . . .' (1938), on p. 120. But the general trend throughout 15th-century song all over Europe was for such sacred poems in the vernacular to be contrafacta, sacred poems based metrically and textually on existing secular songs; and judging from the Italian *lauda* repertory the habit in such adaptations was often to adhere as closely as possible to the form of the original line, merely changing the emphasis so that the praises addressed to the lady could be transferred to Our Lady. In such circumstances, the poem on which a sacred song in the Escorial manuscript—if it was one—was based could scarcely have been any other than the famous poem of the Lover in Lydgate's *The Temple of Glas*. So even if Trend was right it is entirely possible that the Lydgate poem is the correct one for the music.

[27] For a recent summary of the arguments about the dating of *The Temple of Glas* see A. Renoir, *The Poetry of John Lydgate* (London, 1967), 152, n.14

[28] There are, moreover, settings of material from Lydgate at the very end of the 15th century, particularly in the Fayrfax Manuscript, British Library, Add.5465, see J. Stevens, *Music & Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (London, 1961), 352, 371.

[29] A full listing of French examples is in Henri Chatelain, *Recherches sur le vers français au xv[e] siècle: rimes, mètres et strophes* (Paris, 1907), 166-79: two patterns listed on p. 173 have a six-line first section but both are located in only a single example (both by Christine de Pisan); a more recent summary appears in D. Poirion, *Le poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Grenoble, 1965), 382-91, with a table of ballade forms on pp. 385-7; English examples are listed in B. H. N. Geary, *A Study of Fifteenth Century English Lyric Verse from MSS. and Printed Editions with Special Reference to Metrical Form* (diss., U. of Oxford, 1932), see the summary in R. H. Robbins, *Secular Lyrics of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (Oxford, 1952, rev.2/1955), xlviii-xlix.

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Authenticity and the St John Passion

BASIL LAM

As early as 1822, seven years before the over-celebrated Mendelssohn performance of the St Matthew Passion, Karl Friedrich Zelter was taking the chorus and orchestra of the Berlin Singakademie through the whole of the St John. His commitment to Bach could not have been deeper, and he was close to the direct tradition of Bach's sons Friedemann and Emmanuel and the Bach pupils Kirnberger and Agricola, but the sheer effrontery of his editing is marvellous to contemplate. Regardless of whether a MS was autograph or later copy he would insert his own emendations in pencil and red ink, these often going far beyond mere phrasings and dynamics. In the very first bars the chorus parts are simplified into plain quaver and crotchet chords; Bach's vocal line in 'Ich folge dir gleichfalls' is pruned of its 'baroque' figurations. Verbal texts were likewise brought more into line with the taste of the early 19th century.

Faced with such indifference to what we regard as fundamental to any revival of 'old' music it is easy to feel superior, yet Zelter's comments on Bach to Goethe, show an intuitive understanding of the greatness of the music that could not be surpassed. The justification of his drastic editing procedures was summarized in his often quoted 'I could hail him with "You have made work for me, I have brought you back to the light" '.

Bach himself had not hesitated to apply similar methods to the music of other composers. Without weakening in our own belief in the pursuit of authenticity we would do well to recognize that history is against us. Beethoven was expressing a minority view when he refused to admire Mozart's 'improvement' of *Messiah*. Schoenberg, a far greater musician than Zelter, shared his view of permissible liberties with Bach's music when he made his highly regrettable orchestrations of one or two organ works to save them from the 'inadequacy' of the medium for which they had been composed.

Who does not react with a mixture of admiration and impatience to the obstinate perseverance in wrong-doing of great conductors who refuse to observe even such elementary conventions as appoggiaturas in recitative?

Such instances, as we all know, could be multiplied; I mention them only because the progress towards a genuinely creative authenticity is far less rapid than might have been hoped for a generation ago.

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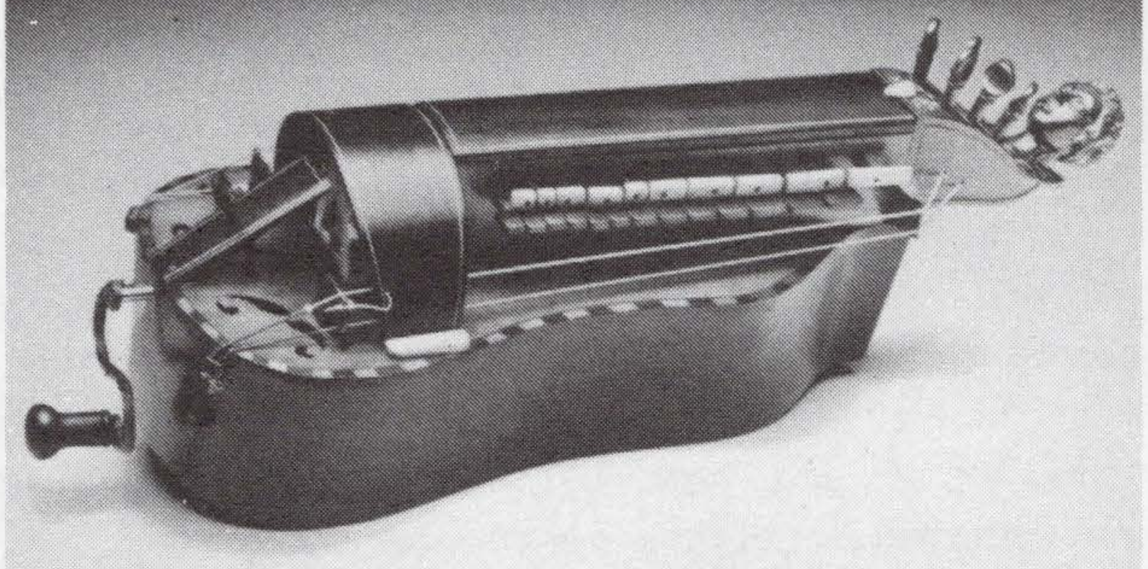

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specific, being those detailed in Bach's celebrated memorandum of August 1730 to the local authority, in which he set out his requirements for a 'well-appointed church music'. With a choir of twenty voices (ten boys, ten men) and a chamber orchestra built round six violins, Norrington will come very close to Bach's recommendation, as has been the case in a number of performances in recent years.* What is of especial note is the intention to use authentic instruments. There is a conflict here, partly aesthetic, partly professional, between those who, like the present writer, believe that the 'meaning' of a musical composition is not completely separable from its intended sound-picture, and the advocates of technological progress. To them, the restoration of pre-Boehm woodwind, natural brass, gut strings, is merely sentimental, like collecting vintage cars. Surely it is self-evident that the fittest instruments have survived and that a horn without valves is as obsolete as a petrol engine with side-valves. Hence the performances of Brandenburg 4 with flutes, even (as in a quite recent recording) the adoption in the St John of the substitution forced on Zelter a century and a half ago, when he noted, 'The aria "Es ist vollbracht", with the gamba, we could not perform with the gamba, as we no longer have such things, so it had to be arranged to suit the viola'. As for the harpsichord, still to be heard in the St Matthew (when its introduction is doubly baseless because (a) the cembalo part is a substitute for some particular occasion and (b) it is for Choir II, the evangelist being with Choir I) it is a sobering thought that Spitta, *a century ago*, wrote these words: 'That the unsupported recitative of the St Matthew Passion was intended to be accompanied on the cembalo and not on the organ . . . rests on an altogether false assumption.' In the St John it has long been recognized that if the harpsichord is used for all recitative except for the words of Jesus, these being accompanied by the organ, the Saviour's utterances can be invested with all the impressiveness of a popular actor reading the Lesson.

Now these are questions of fundamental style, regardless of the scale of performance. Here, as was recognized long ago by Schweitzer, the most essential element to be preserved is the balance of audibility. Through no fault of his own, Zelter set the pattern with his Singakademie choir. As every chorusmaster knows, it is scarcely possible to drop large numbers from an amateur choir for an important performance. The Berlin forces numbered S 47, A 36, T 34, B 41, roughly the size of choir often heard today. Consider, though, the first chorus where, as Schweitzer observes, 'The flutes and oboes express the thoughts connected with the Passion; throughout the movement they sigh and wail incessantly'. To ensure that these parts are heard Bach doubles one flute with one oboe on each line, this evidently being sufficient, in his experience, to be set against the chorus and strings, often themselves doubling. Similar textures in the alto aria 'Von den Strikken' are given to the oboes, from which it appears that Bach thought it sufficient to add the flutes to balance not a single voice plus continuo but the full forces engaged. How gentle Bach's flutes must have been may be gauged from the use of two in unison to accompany his boy soprano in no. 13 'Ich folge dir gleichfalls', and in any case the baroque flute is becoming a welcome and familiar sound.

In certain dramatic choruses instrumental detail is often not much more adequately represented than when Schweitzer (seventy years ago!) drew attention to the persistent descending scales in 'Sei gegrüsset lieber Judenkönig', remarking, however, 'The modern hearer has little awareness of the nature of this accompaniment, as the flutes and oboes are generally inaudible'. It goes without saying that in these respects the Passions do not differ from the other church music where the same relation between vocal and instrumental components is taken for granted by Bach. He could scarcely have imagined that the opponents of authentic performance would have defended, at least by implication, the virtual obliteration of essential material in the music they profess to admire. Why did Bach trouble, they should be asked, to write the canonic dialogue for two flutes in the 'Qui tollis' of the B minor Mass if it was to be blotted out by the heavy breathing of a large choral society? (That they are not intended to sing in a hushed pianissimo is indicated by the direction to the upper strings to take off their mutes after the 'Domine Deus' duet.) The fact seems to be that if a silly practice is maintained for long enough it becomes a tradition. Our more recent reforms in the size of choir and orchestra for baroque performances are far from new. Between the wars Charles Kennedy Scott and the Bach Cantata Club were doing pioneer work too little regarded by what ought to have been the learned world. As so often the major talents were on the wrong side. Did not our beloved Vaughan Williams insist on a grand piano (for which he wrote a concertante part) in the St Matthew? Legend has it that he declared in a voice of iron that he would in no circumstances have the viola da gamba.

What of these 'obsolete' instruments? That they had severe limitations is plain enough, but with the

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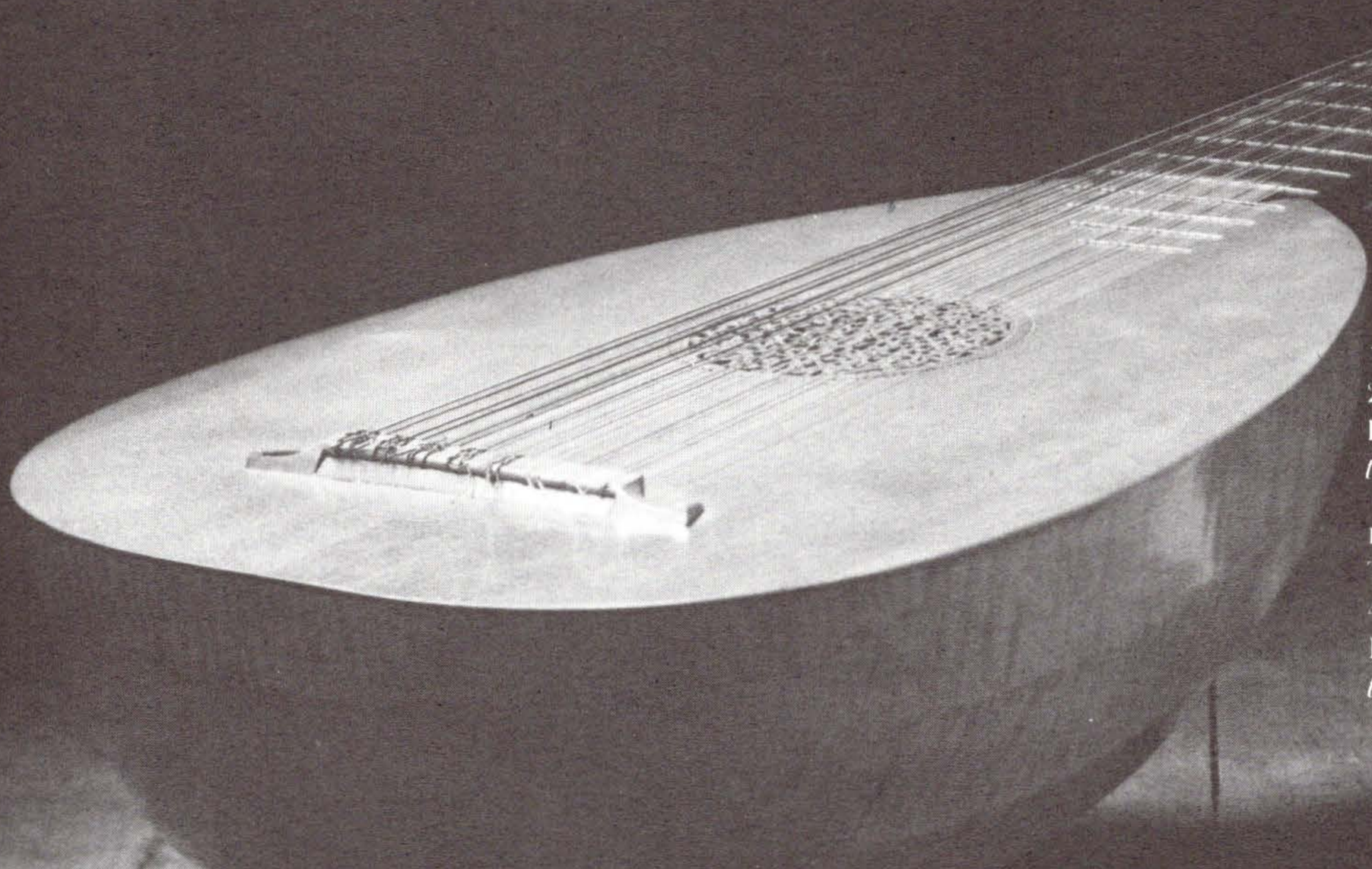

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present-day vast improvement in baroque techniques it is becoming clear that the notion that defective intonation was accepted in Bach's time is a mere Philistine sophistry. For instance, in the St Matthew the flutes are omitted when the Chorale no. 21 is repeated (as no. 23) in E flat instead of E major. Before Quantz's E flat key was generally available a melody in which the note e flat″ occurred so frequently as in this hymn would have sounded out of tune. Further, even a non-player can see from old instruction books what endless thought was given to alternative fingerings for difficult notes on the various wind instruments. Delegate to mechanism the task of correcting a naturally inexact scale and you lose something of the valuable idea by which the instrument becomes an extension, as it were, of its player. With strings the gap between the authentic and the acceptable becomes disquietingly wide. The problems facing players are formidable, both in acquiring suitable instruments and in cultivating the techniques for handling them when these are so remote from the professional norms of contemporary activities. Yet there is no area in which reform is more urgently needed.

Consider Bach's keyboard music. It is now realized that the romantic organ is a quite unsuitable medium for the *Orgelbüchlein*, the Passacaglia, D minor Toccata or any other work, famous or obscure; the modern harpsichord with sixteen foot and all the trimmings is not admired in the Italian Concerto, or Chromatic Fantasia, yet with scarcely a word of complaint, apart from a small minority of purists, the Brandenburgs or the violin concertos are generally presented with a sonority no less remote from what Bach himself heard than the examples cited.

Apart from the changes made in the instruments themselves the device of continuous vibrato obscures the sound of everything earlier than the present century. Anyone who doubts the sad truth that this deplorable effect has been intensified in the past fifty years need only compare the admired string quartet styles of today with old recordings (Flonzaley, Busch, even Léner). Once you have modified an old violin by screwing it up to a higher pitch, with longer, more massive strings, inserting a heavy bass-bar to withstand the increased load, what else can you do other than wring tone from it by setting it in vibration as completely as possible with fluctuating wave-formations in every note? As virtually all first-rate stringed instruments were modernized long before the recent renascence of the true baroque style (the same methods apply to the Viennese classics, be it noted), only a player both rich and bold could be expected to have his precious Italian violin restored to its original condition, thus making it unfit for our usual decadent performing practices. Nevertheless, we shall not achieve a truly authentic Bach style until the strings have been restored to their true nature and technique. Brave attempts have been made for some years, but the difficulty is to achieve a performing rhetoric based on something more positive than inhibitions (I realize it is easy for a non-player to criticize), and this depends on a more positive response from audiences. When the Titian *Bacchus and Ariadne* was re-hung after cleaning, the protesting cries from those who had cherished the painting under its romantic haze of discoloured varnish were not unlike the complaints of music-lovers who expect, in the Bach Passions, to be engulfed in warm sonorities from large choirs supported by vibrant strings and wind.

* *Roger Norrington will give a performance of the St John Passion with original forces on 10 March 1977 in the Church of St Bartholomew the Great, Smithfield, London.*

EARLY MUSIC

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The sixteenth-century Spanish Romance

A survey of the Spanish Ballad as found in the music of the vihuelistas

GLENDA SIMPSON & BARRY MASON

The music of the vihuelistas of mid-16th-century Spain is extant in only seven volumes; containing music for solo vihuela, and songs with vihuela accompaniment. The songs are an eclectic hotch-potch of styles derived mainly from the pervasive influences of the Italian and Burgundian schools. Amidst them one form represents the remains of a much older style—the romance. In a literary sense the word 'romance' derives from the Latin *romanice* 'in the vernacular tongue'. This then was one criterion of the poets and minstrels who created the form. The first remaining romances began to appear in Spain in the 15th century, although fragments of much earlier epic poems, notably 'Poema de mio Cid' and 'Infantes de Lara', are said to be integrated into the early ballad repertoire. The mid-14th century was the time of the civil war between Henry of Trastamara and his half-brother Pedro the Cruel, and at least one of these first long poems was used most effectively as a means of spreading propaganda by the followers of both sides. This art form, which was created by the minstrels, soon came to be accepted by the people and became a vital means of disseminating news. During the years of the border fighting with the Moors, ballads appear describing siege, battle, victory and defeat. These 'fronterizo' ballads were first-hand descriptions of events and scenes.

The romance was a living art form, changing slightly at every performance. The poems were passed by word of mouth and were at times intoned to a strummed accompaniment. By the middle of the 15th century the romance had succeeded where so many other art forms had failed, and had achieved popularity in all social classes, from the court to the peasants. A widespread knowledge of the texts through the 16th and 17th centuries can be assumed, both from the pertinent references and quotations in Spanish literature, especially Cervante's *Don Quixote*, and also from the fact that song writers rarely gave more than the first stanza in their musical editions, indicating, some have concluded, that at least the gist of the subsequent stanzas were familiar to all.

In the musical editions of the 16th century the aim and style of the romance had been modified. The original texts were shortened to include only the more essential descriptive detail and story line. The educated man had infiltrated the composition of the texts, as can be seen from the choice of subject-matter. No battle-following minstrel knew intimately the stories of the court of Charlemagne. These Carolingian themes became popular subjects with the ballad writers from the 15th century, who also took material from Greek legends and the Bible.

It was this material then that the 16th-century vihuelistas had as their texts: the remaining fragments of old ballads (Romance 'viejo'), often much shortened and adapted; the heroic deeds of medieval French knights; historical stories of Spanish heroes; and descriptions of Moorish warfare.

There are twenty-three romances in the vihuela books. Although still cultivated at this time, the romance as an art form had lost its essential impetus. With the border warfare at an end, the anonymous

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wandering minstrel no longer carried his version of the ballad from village to village. Therefore from a literary point of view the romance was somewhat backward looking.

Of the total song output of the vihuelistas, romances represent a minute proportion (less than 4 per cent); but they are large in musical stature, bringing forth some amazingly fine and original work.

The four romances of Luis Milán, whose publication of 1536 was the first of the vihuelist school, abound with an inspiration and originality that was rarely exceeded by the later vihuela composers.

Although retaining the original eight-syllable lines and single vowel assonance of the old poetic form throughout, his romance 'Durandarte' is an art song of the highest order. The text, which is Carolingian, is a dialogue between the knight Roland and the lady Belerma. As with Milán's other romances, the vocal line is doubled in the two inner parts of the four part texture. The accompaniment is seldom static, abounding with passing notes and running passages known as *redobles* (see below) far removed from the intermittent strummed chords of the original romances. Instrumental introductions and interludes are used extensively by Milán as well as Valderrabano and Pisador. The style of the moving accompaniment initiated by Milán is evident in the music of the first four vihuela composers—Milán, Narvaez (1538), Mudarra (1546), and Valderrabano (1547). The later three, however, Pisador (1552), Fuenllana (1554) and Daza (1576) preferred, on the whole, a more chordal texture.

There would seem to be little that binds the romances of the seven vihuelistas together except the poetical style which imposed the shape of the ballad on the whole. Each composer sets the texts in his own style. There are no hard and fast rules for the doubling of the vocal line. Milán and Valderrabano, for instance, consistently double an inner part, whereas Narvaez and Fuenllana put the melodic line on the top of the texture, and Mudarra writes a separate voice part which is not doubled at all in the accompaniment. The harmonic texture of the romance as a whole is consistently in three or four parts (including the vocal part), except for 'Ya Cavalga Calaynos' which is only in two.

Of the twenty-three ballads in the vihuela books, seven are 'ballads fronterizos'. 'Pasevase el Moro' was highly popular, the events described being of comparatively recent origin. It tells of the fall of the last Moorish stronghold of Alhama (or Granada) in 1492. The text was set by Narvaez, Pisador and Fuenllana. (Fuenllana's accompaniment is written for four-string guitar, although included in the vihuela book.) These Moorish battle-songs show a sympathy and understanding for the Moors, which, although unexpected, is characteristic of the fellowship between Moors and Spanish. It is as strange to hear the Moorish King bewailing the downfall of his city in 'Pasevase el Moro' as it is hard to reconcile the sensuous melodic line of Fuenllana's 'De Antequerra sale el Moro' with the bloodthirsty sentiment of its words, written entirely from the Moorish point of view.

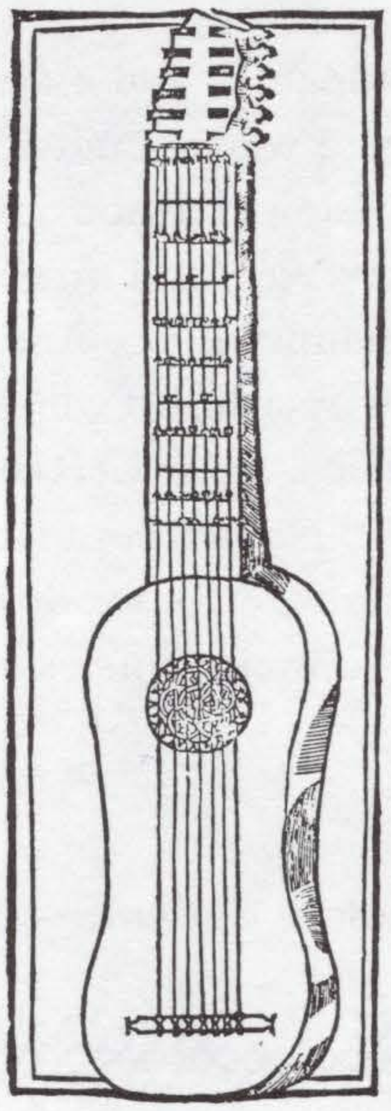
Of the historical ballads Pisador's 'Guarte guarte el Rey Don Sancho' ('Beware King Don Sancho') is an admirable song, catching the tension and urgency of the warning in the first line. This narrative can be traced to a particular event in 1072, when King Sancho the Second was murdered by a particularly treacherous traitor during the battle of Zamora. This period in Spanish history was the inspiration for a large group of epic poems, including the famous 'Poema de mio Cid'.

In summing up the romances from the point of view of the songs and the singer (more will be said on the accompaniment below), it can be said that this small group of compositions, which span a period of only forty years, contribute greatly to the repertoire of renaissance music for voice and instrumental accompaniment.

The simplicity of structure in the vocal line yields manifold opportunities for the singer to include the

16th-century vihuela player

Vihuela in Tratado de Instrumentos *by Fray Juan Bermudo, Osuna, 1555*



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decoration and improvisation that was such a feature of renaissance music-making. A vitality and originality so often lacking in the many vocal intabulations of the vihuelistas, pervades the romances and, although on a modest scale by later standards, a wide range of emotion, feeling and sensitivity is still very evident in these songs today.

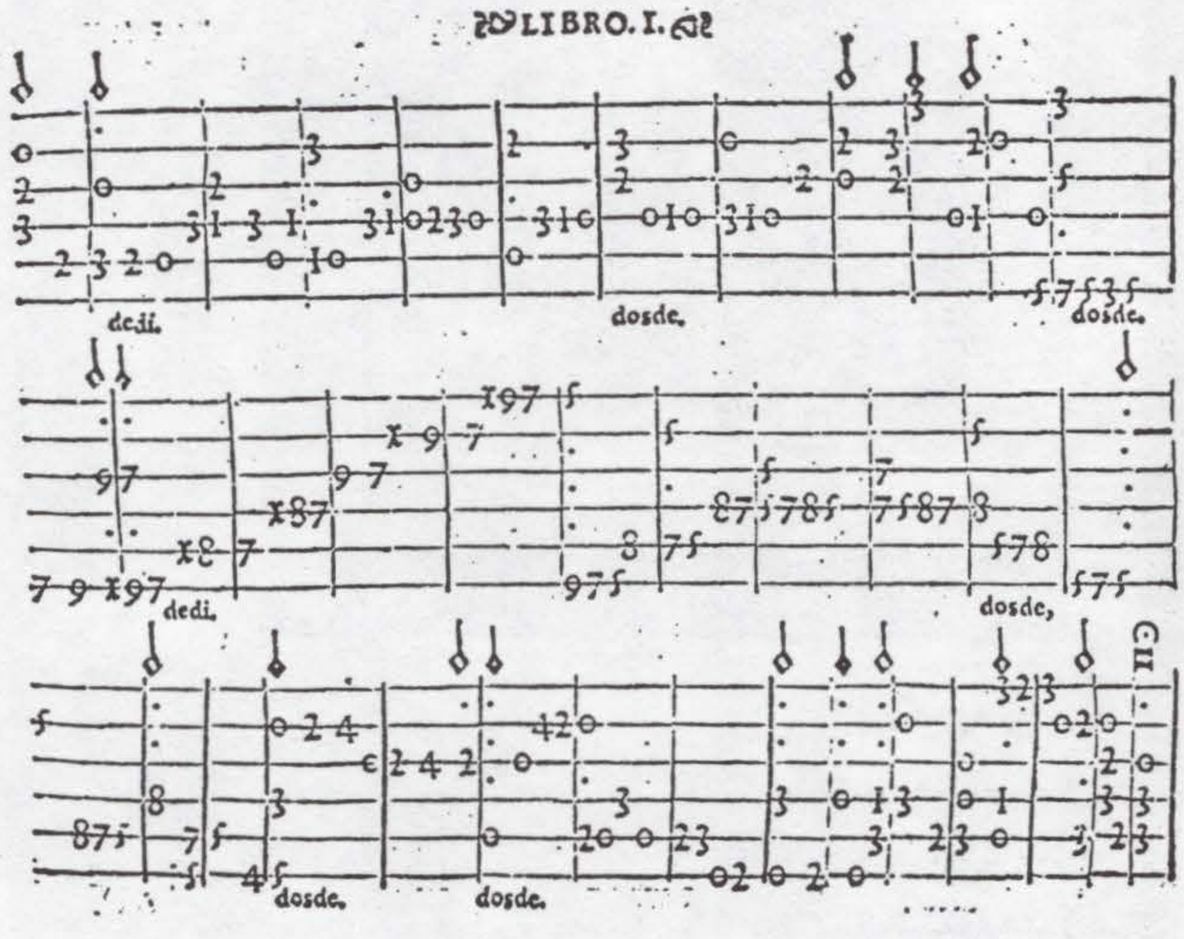
One of the most interesting features in the accompaniment of the romances is the extensive use of *redobles*, a clear definition of which is difficult to make. The vihuelistas themselves seem to have many differing ideas and opinions. As in many 16th-century books and manuscript instructions they are often vague, or give many irrelevant details. Luis Milán is clear, but not specific: 'Here begin the romances. What consists of Consonances is to be played slowly. The *redobles* at the cadences when the voice finishes are to be played quickly.' (Fol. Q IV^{v}.)

Ex.1 Con Pavor Recordó el Moro

From the example ('Con Pavor Recordó el Moro') we see, in the accompaniment a usual line of quavers; but *redobles* are more than an equal string of notes. A free pulse, or rubato, is implied when Milán states: 'Play all the consonances with a slow *tactus*, and all the *redobles* with a rapid *tactus*, and pause a little on playing each *coronado* (high point).' (Fol. D^{r}.)

Like all decorative styles this quasi-flamenco *falseta* is not easy to grasp, particularly when *redobles* form a substantial part of the work, being well integrated with both the rhythmic and harmonic movement. This kind of decoration is quite unlike the 'added' trills and mordants of the Baroque. With such a free pulse and rhythmic vitality the renaissance scholar is often at a loss to explain this Spanish temperament in terms of common renaissance practice. One can only say that the style is completely individual and contains a dynamic expression that is difficult to find elsewhere in renaissance Europe. From Milán's instructions it is evident that *redobles* were already established by the 16th century. A strong Arabic influence may have a connection here, not only because of the free, improvised running lines which the *redobles* seem to imitate, but also the technique of playing.

Milán says: 'The divers *redobles* are to be played "dedillo", (i.e. with the index finger), or "dos dedos" (i.e. with thumb and finger).' (Fol. D^{r}.) The *dedillo* technique could easily be the substitute for the eagle's feather, used as a plectrum by the Arab *ud* players. Mudarra elaborates on these techniques, and in his Fantasia No. 2 he prints the two techniques of playing *redobles* below the line of music.



The remaining vihuela books do not give any more specific details about *redobles*. They contain however, interesting comments which give us a general idea of how the accompaniments may have been played.

Valderrabano, for instance, in his Introduction states that he has composed in a simple style so as not to make it too difficult for the student; he then adds that the skilful player may improvise *redobles* if he wishes. Valderrabano's first romance 'Ay de mi', where the vocal line is held for three or four bars while the vihuela is free to improvise *redobles* underneath, is an example of this. Pisador on the other hand, in his Introduction, says that he has taken such great care in composing the music that it should not be spoilt by decorations and *redobles*. Alongside this mass of general verbalization about decorations and *redobles* one notes that the number of song accompaniments containing worked out *redobles* diminishes with the later vihuela composers. Whether these more chordal accompaniments represent an actual change of musical style or a change to the more baroque way of notation, which tended to give the player only the essential harmonies and left the decoration to be filled in at the performance, we do not know. From the instrumental fantasias of Fuenllana and Daza it is

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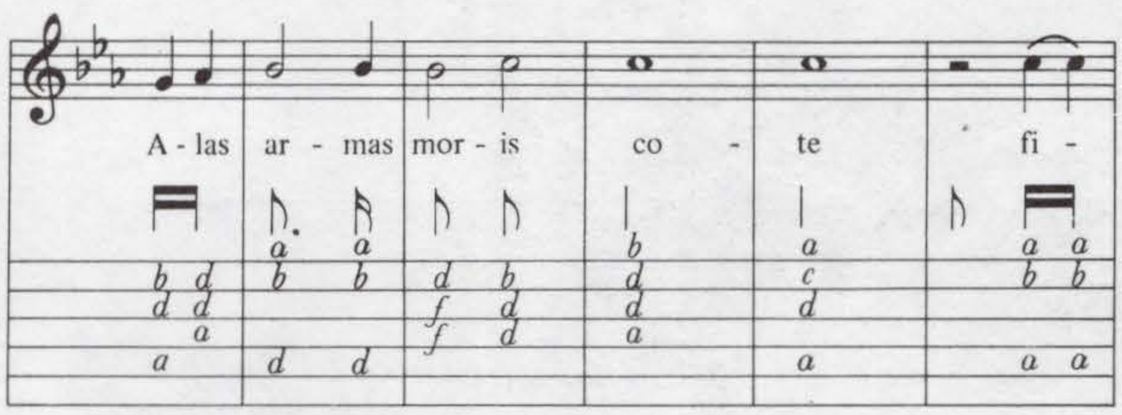
evident, however, that the *redoble* was still a much-favoured style. Therefore one can reasonably assume that the chordal texture of the romances of the late 16th century were intended as a basis only, and a more florid style of accompaniment, producing an effect similar to those written out by the earlier vihuelistas was intended. Fuenllana's romance 'A las armas Moriscote' is full of possibilities in this respect. In the example below I have added passing-notes and *redobles* to the original chords.

M. Fuenllana (1554) A las armas moriscote

Ex. 3



Below is an elaborated version with passing notes and *redobles*

This freedom given to the player is particularly fitting to the accompaniment of the romance when one considers its origins as an improvised and creative art form.

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Glenda Simpson and Barry Mason specialize in music for voice and plucked instruments. They wish to acknowledge the guidance of several leading musicians, including the late David Munrow and Anthony Rooley, and in the preparation of this article, the help given by Diana Poulton and Jack Sage. They now direct their own ensemble, The Camerata of London.

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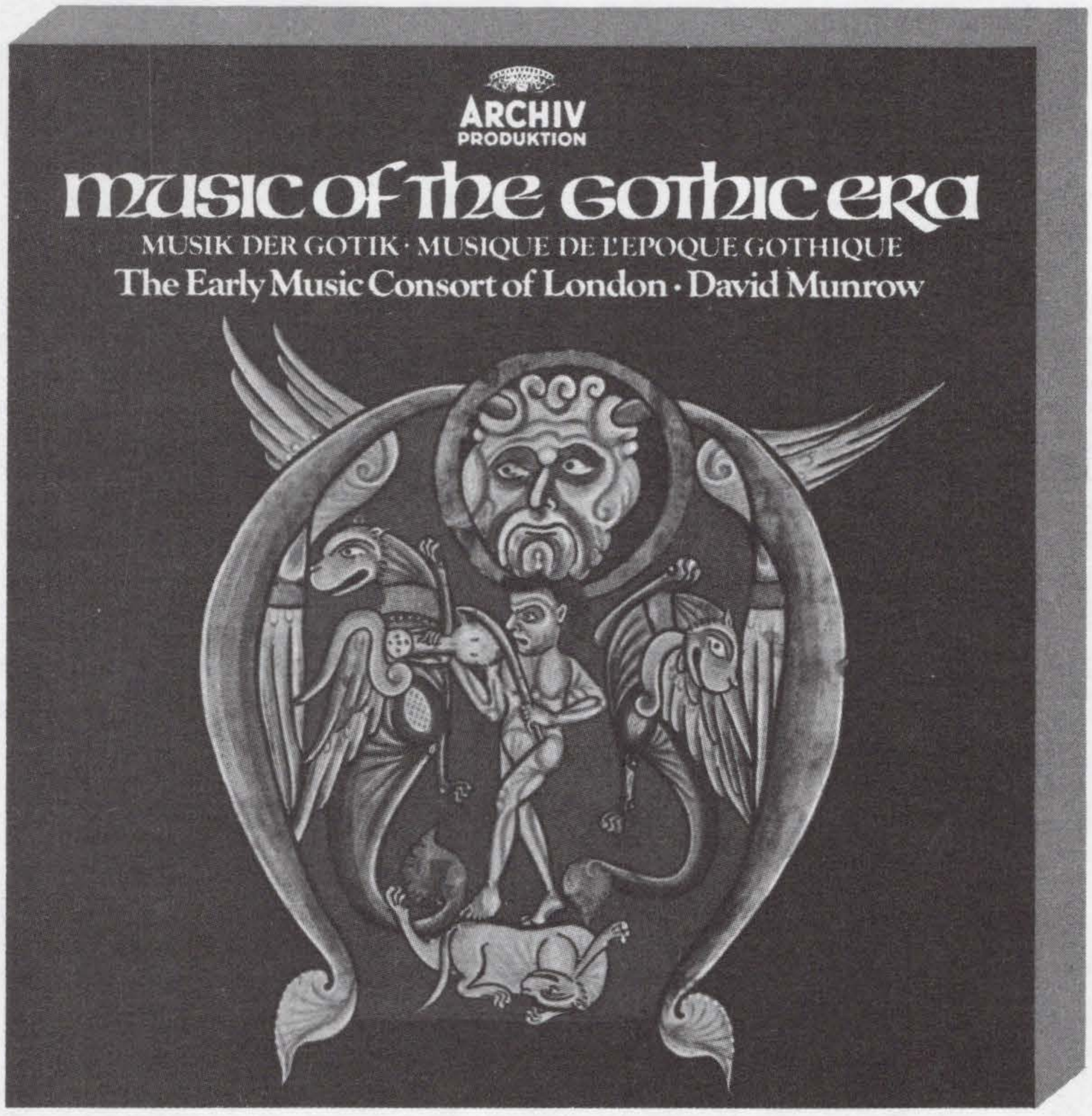
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The vihuela repertoire

MONICA J. L. HALL

The vihuela repertoire is unusual in that it has attracted almost as much attention from classical guitarists as from artists specializing in the performance of music of the period. While this may be regarded as something of a mixed blessing, it has at least resulted in some of the music becoming very well known, and has to some extent been responsible for the revival of the vihuela itself. Not surprisingly, the repertoire has also attracted the attention of Spanish artists not otherwise associated with the performance of early music. Victoria de los Angeles, for example, made a recording of Spanish songs of the Renaissance with the Ars Musicae Ensemble of Barcelona many years ago; the original record is no longer available, but two items from it, Fuenllana's setting of 'De los álamos vengo' and Daza's of the romance 'Enfermo estaba Antioco' are included in a recently issued set 'The incomparable Victoria de los Angeles' (Decca, SLS 5012). Teresa Berganza has also made a record, discussed below, of early Spanish songs, which includes several by the vihuelistas.

But obviously the most interesting recordings are those which feature instruments which make some claim to authenticity. Here one encounters problems, for unfortunately little is known about how the vihuela was constructed or about how it was played. In appearance it resembled the guitar. Usually it had six pairs of strings doubled throughout at the unison. Like the lute it was tuned in perfect fourths with a major third between the third and fourth courses, and like the lute it almost certainly had tied-on, adjustable frets. A brief mention of the advantages of inlaid frets in Bermudo's *Declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Book 4, Chapter 77, f103^{v}) has been seized upon by some present-day vihuelistas (including the present writer) as an excuse for using them on their instruments. Bermudo's reasons for recommending them are purely practical—humidity causes gut frets to shift, resulting in faulty intonation—but it is very unlikely that any of his contemporaries took his advice. Bermudo also recommends a seven-course instrument as being convenient for tackling complex polyphonic music in several parts, but very little music survives intabulated for such an instrument.

In spite of the fact that some of the tablatures claim to be methods by which the beginner may learn to play the vihuela, none includes a great deal in the way of systematic practical instruction, although Fuenllana and Mudarra discuss in some detail the methods of right-hand fingering used for playing *redobles* or running passages. It may be assumed that the vihuela shared much the same technique as the lute. As far as the right hand is concerned this means that it would have been considered better style to play with the tips of the fingers rather than with the fingernails. It also means that the little finger would have been allowed to rest on the soundboard of the instrument, confining the activity of the right hand to a relatively short length of string, usually quite close to the bridge and resulting in a dryer, more sharply focused sound than most guitarists produce. Nevertheless many players today, lutenists as well as vihuelistas, play with their fingernails and allow themselves more freedom in moving between the bridge and the rose to obtain greater contrast in tone quality than is possible with the hand anchored in one place.

In all the tablatures except that of Milán, many of the pieces, both instrumental and vocal, are prefaced with what appear to be instructions for tuning the vihuela to different pitches. There are two schools of thought as to how these should be interpreted. Emilio Pujol has chosen to take these literally, and in the three volumes of *Monumentos de la música española* which he has edited, the music is transcribed at the pitches specified in the tablature. On the other hand, John Ward has pointed out that during the 16th century pitch was entirely notional and suggests that these instructions are supplied to enable the player to determine the mode in which the music is written and not as a guide to the pitch to which he should tune his instrument ('Le problème des hauteurs dans la musique pour luth et vihuela au XVI^{e} siècle' in *Le luth et sa musique*, ed.

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explores the Albigentian Crusade of the 13th century as viewed through the songs of the troubadours. It was on 22 July 1209 that Simon de Montfort cried, "Kill them all! God will know his own." Thus began at Beziers the cruel rape of Provence at the hands of France, a devastation so complete that few remember today that Occitania, the Languedoc, was not French, neither in language nor in culture; and only now, seven hundred years later, is it gradually escaping from under the carpet of French cultural repression. Claudio Marti, an Occitanian singer, joins the EMQ to sing in his own language, the language of the troubadours.

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Jacquot). There is probably an element of truth in both sides of the argument. While the instructions are most likely intended to indicate mode rather than pitch, vihuelas varied in size and were certainly tuned to different pitches; Valderrábano includes in *Silva de Sirenas* duets for vihuelas tuned a minor third, perfect fourth and perfect fifth apart as well as at the unison and Milán offers advice on the stringing of instruments of different sizes. Most modern players confine themselves to one instrument tuned in G but one of the records to be discussed features vihuelas of seven different sizes.

There are seven surviving printed collections of music for vihuela, compiled by Milán, Narváez, Mudarra, Valderrábano, Pisador, Fuenllana and Daza. All save that of Daza date from the second quarter of the century, and *El Parnasso*, printed in 1576, does not differ greatly in either style or contents from the others. Most of the music is for the six-course instrument, but Mudarra and Fuenllana include pieces for four-course guitar, Fuenllana those for five-course vihuela, and Valderrábano duets for two vihuelas. All collections contain both instrumental music and songs with vihuela accompaniment, original compositions by the compilers and arrangements or settings of already familiar music. All except Milán include quantities of intabulations of sacred and secular pieces by both Flemish and Spanish composers, some of which are for vihuela alone, others including parts to be sung. It is likely that some of these were intended for use during religious services. Mudarra's two settings of psalm tones, 'Nisi dominus' and 'Exurge quare ob dormis' spring to mind as possible examples. The music of Cabezón and Venegas de Henestrosa was also intended to be suitable for performance on the vihuela although printed in keyboard tablature.

The music of Milán, Narváez and Mudarra is much the most frequently performed and much the best represented on gramophone record, presumably because their tablatures have been readily available in complete transcriptions for a number of years. Valderrábano and Fuenllana have fared less well and Pisador and Daza are comparatively neglected. Not surprisingly, it is the solo pieces which are the most often heard, especially those with distinctive titles. The intabulations of vocal music have been almost entirely neglected with the exception of Narváez's gloss of Josquin's chanson 'Mille regres'. This is a pity since there is no doubt that this kind of music-making was highly thought of and was regarded as one of the ultimate aims in learning to play the vihuela. The concentration on the more extrovert and virtuoso pieces gives an unbalanced picture of the repertoire.

At least eight records devoted substantially to the vihuela repertoire have been released in recent years. One is now deleted and four are imports but they are not unduly difficult to obtain in Britain. In the following notes the numbers in brackets after the pieces without distinctive titles are those assigned to them in Howard Mayer Brown's *Instrumental music printed before 1600*.

1. DGG Archiv 198 457 Deleted *Hispaniae música:* Vihuela y guitarra. Renata Tarragó, *vihuela* Review: *Gramophone,* June, 1969

Side 1: FUENLLANA: Fantasia for 4 course guitar (165); MILÁN: Pavanes 3 & 5; MUDARRA: Pavane (14); Galliard; NARVÁEZ: 7 Diferencias sobre Guardamé las vacas; Mille regres; VALDERRÁBANO: Fantasía remedando al motete de Queramus cum pastoribus (116).

Side 2 contains music by Guerau, Sanz, Sor & Ferrandiere played on the classical guitar.

The sleeve note, which is otherwise informative, gives no details of the instrument used. It appears to be tuned in E but the pitch varies from track to track, and the Narváez *diferencias* seem to have been either transposed or played on another instrument tuned in A. The Fuenllana is presumably played on the same six-course instrument. The performances are attractive although technical obstacles occasionally get in the way of the natural flow of the music. The editions used were prepared by Graciano Tarragó and others from tablatures in the Biblioteca Central, Barcelona. Both Renata and Graciano Tarragó may be counted amongst the

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pioneers of the vihuela revival; they played together in a series of concerts broadcast by the BBC Third Programme twenty two years ago.

2. Hispavox HHS 15 Spanish import *Vihuelistas españoles* (Siglo XVI): Música vocal e instrumental (Colección de música antigua española no. 16) Anne Perret, *mezzo soprano* Rodrigo de Zayas, *vihuela* Review: *Consort,* 1974

DAZA: 2 Fantasias (18 & 22); FUENLLANA: 2 Fantasias (16 & 12); Vos me matastes niña; MILÁN: Con pavor recordó el moro; Pavanes 1, 4 & 6; O gelosia d' amanti; Fantasia (1); MUDARRA: Isabel, perdiste la tu faxa; 12 Diferencias sobre el Conde claros; Fantasía que contrehaze la harpa en la manera de Luduvico; NARVÁEZ: Ya se asienta el rey Ramiro; 22 Diferencias sobre el Conde claros; PISADOR: Aquellas sierras madre; En la fuente del rosel; Si la noche hace oscura; Partense partiendo; Si te vas a bañar, Juanica; VALDERRÁBANO: Los braços traygo cansados; Hierusalem, convertere ad dominum (Ortiz); Pavana (165, first 2 diferencias only); Se pur te guardo; Qui la dira.

The record is accompanied by an extended essay in Spanish by de Zayas dealing with the vihuela and its repertoire, with an English translation, as well as translations of the songs separately. De Zayas uses instruments of seven different sizes, tuned from Gamut through F *fa ut*, made for him by the brothers César and Fernando Vera. All have inlaid frets. Specific instructions

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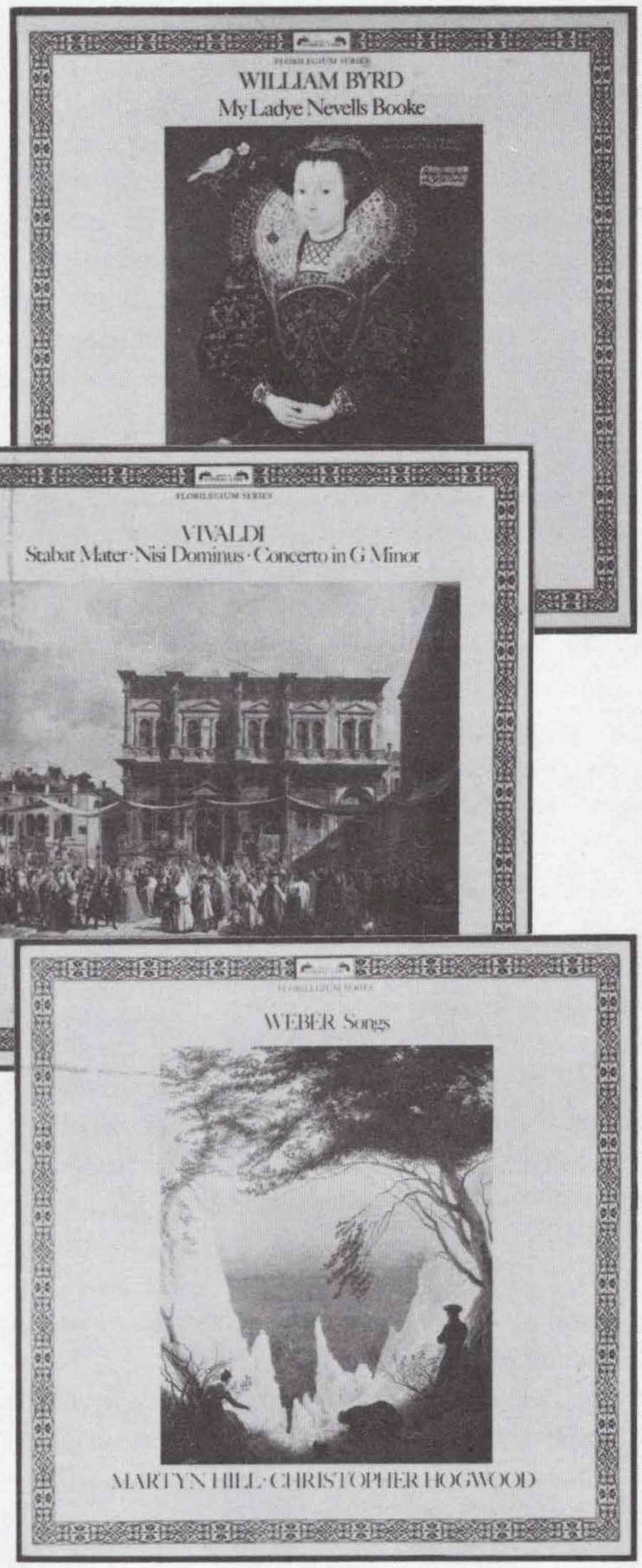

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for tuning are in fact not supplied in the original tablatures for most of the pieces played on the record and de Zayas has used his own discretion in choosing which instrument to play. Where specific instructions are supplied these are not always adhered to.

The two artists have specialized in performing the vihuela repertoire together for a number of years. The programme is imaginatively chosen, includes items from all seven tablatures, many of them relatively unfamiliar, and reflects almost every facet of the vihuela repertoire. The wayward interpretation of the instrumental solos is a bit disconcerting and perhaps not altogether appropriate, but one can't help admiring de Zayas' dexterity.

3. Hispavox HHS 5 Spanish import. *Vihuelistas españoles* (Siglo XVI): El maestro de Luys de Milán & Silva de sirenas de Enrique de Valderrábano. (Colección de música antigua española no. 11.) Jorge Fresno, *vihuela*

MILÁN: 8 Fantasias (1–4, 8, 10, 12 & 13); VALDERRÁBANO: 4 Diferencias sobre la pavana (165); Sonetos 7–9, 11, 13 & 15 (143–5, 147, 149 & 151); Fantasias nos. 13 & 14 (101 & 102).

4. Hispavox HHS 10 Spanish import Vihuelistas españoles (Siglo XVI): 3 Libros de música en cifras de vihuela de Mudarra & Orphénica lyra de Fuenllana. (Colección de música antigua española no. 12). Jorge Fresno, *vihuela*

FUENLLANA: Duo (9); Duo contrapunto (5); Duo de Morales: Suscepit Israel (3); Tan que vivray (113B); Tiento de segundo tono (175); Tiento de sexto tono (179); Tiento de octavo tono (181); Fantasía de octavo tono (85); Fantasia (173); Fantasia for 5-course vihuela (156); MUDARRA: 12 Diferencias sobre el Conde claros; Pavane de Alexandre; Pavane for 4-course guitar (21); Galliard; Fantasía de pasos largos (1); Fantasía para desenvolver las manos (2); Fantasia (5); Fantasía que contrahaze la harpa en la manera de Luduvico; Fantasía de octavo tono (46); Fantasía de octavo tono (47; Fantasia (48).

5. Hispavox HHS 23 Spanish import Vihuelistas españoles (Siglo XVI): Luys de Narváez, Diego Pisador, Esteban Daza. (Colección de música antigua española no. 13.) Jorge Fresno, *vihuela*

DAZA: Dame acogida; 3 Fantasias (15, 19 & 22); NARVÁEZ: 2 Fantasias (11 & 14); Canción (Gombert, 20); Diferencias 1-4 sobre Sacris solemniis; 7 Diferencias sobre Guardamé las vacas; 22 Diferencias sobre Conde claros; Baxa de contrapunto; PISADOR: Pavana muy llana para tañer; Dezilde al cavallero que; 6 Villanescas—O dulce vita mea, Toti voria contar, Quanto duele, Madona mala vostra, La cortesía & Tuta tuta sarasi.

Fresno is a young Argentinian guitarist now resident in Spain and devoting his time to the study of early music played on authentic instruments. He plays a seven course vihuela made to his own specification by César Vera. It is tuned in G with the seventh course tuned a fourth below the standard six courses. Judging by the sleeve photograph it has inlaid frets. Fresno plays from editions he has prepared himself from originals in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Presumably the music has been rearranged to some extent to take advantage of the seventh course; the pieces for four-course guitar and five-course vihuela are played on the same instrument.

These three records represent a really worthwhile attempt at presenting substantial portions of the solo music for vihuela with the emphasis on the less familiar and less frequently performed. It is particularly gratifying to find a whole side accorded to Fuenllana whose music deserves to be better known. His gloss on Sermisy's 'Tant que vivray' is as enchanting as Narváez's 'Mille regres' and ought to be as popular. It is a pity that (as far as I know) the series does not include a third disc covering the music of Narváez, Pisador and Daza.

For some of the pieces Fresno adopts tempi which on first hearing sound rather cautious, even tentative at times. But although never hurried, the music is never allowed to drag, and the performances with their loving attention to detail capture the pervasive wistfulness which characterizes much of the repertoire.

6. DGG Archiv 2533 183 *Lute music of the Renaissance* 3: Spain. Konrad Ragossnig, *lute* Review: *Gramophone*, July 1975

MILÁN: 6 Pavanes; 4 Fantasias (10–12 & 16); MUDARRA: Pavane de Alexandre; Galliard; O guardamé las vacas: romanesca (13); 12 Diferencias sobre el Conde claros; Fantasía que contrehaze la harpa en la manera de Luduvico; NARVÁEZ: 7 Diferencias sobre Guardamé las vacas; Mille regres; Fantasia (14); Baxa de contrapunto (33).

Title-page of Garcia Ordóñez de Montalvo's Amadis de Gaula *(Seville edition, 1531)*

Ragossnig plays an eight-course lute made by David Rubio after an instrument of David Hoffman dating from the second half of the 17th century. The record is one of a series presenting 16th-century lute music from all parts of Europe. There is of course no reason why the vihuela repertoire should not be appropriated by the lute—some of the music was in fact included in collections of lute music published outside Spain during the second half of the century.

The performances are flawless, both technically and musically, although Ragossnig does tend to sound more like a guitarist playing the guitar than the other artists so far mentioned.

7. Everest EV 3197 U.S. Import *Guitar music and songs of the Spanish Renaissance*. Rosa Barbany, *soprano* Renata Tarragó, *guitar*.

DAZA: Dame acogida en tu hato; Tiento; FUENLLANA: Ojos claros serenos; Morenica dame un beso; MILÁN: Con pavor recordó el moro; Fantasia (16); MUDARRA: Tientos 7 & 8 (42 & 45); Isabel, perdiste la tu faxa; Claros y frescos ríos; NARVÁEZ: 22 Diferencias sobre el Conde claros; PISADOR: Pavana muy llana para tañer; En la fuente del rosel; Porque es dama tanto quereros; Si te vas a bañar Juanica; VALDERRÁBANO: Fantasia no. 14 (89).

The sleeve refers to the instrument used as a guitar, but there is also a note stating that all the music on the record has

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been transcribed for vihuela by Graciano Tarragó. In places the instrument sounds very much as though it were double-strung. If it is a guitar it has a very soft action. It appears to be tuned in E. The artist plays with the tips of the fingers rather than with the nails which may account for the ambiguity of the sound produced.

All seven collections are represented, and for that reason, and because the record is fairly readily available it is recommended listening although the performances are not outstanding. Incidentally the 'Tiento' attributed to Daza does not appear to be included in *El Parnasso*.

8. DGG 139365 *Spanish guitar music of five centuries,* vol. 1. Narciso Yepes, guitar. Review: *Gramophone*, March 1969.

Side 1: MILÁN: 6 Pavanes; MUDARRA: Fantasía que contrahaze la harpa en manera de Luduvico; NARVÁEZ: Mille regres; 7 Diferencias sobre Guardamé las vacas; PISADOR: Pavana muy llana para tañer; La Cortesía: villanesca.

Side 2 contains music by Sanz & Soler.

This record is less interesting now perhaps than when it was first issued as most of the music on it has since been recorded on 'authentic' instruments. Nevertheless the performances, which are discreet and subdued, capture the spirit if not the letter of the music faithfully.

9. DGG 2530 504 *Canciones españoles: songs from the Middle Ages & Renaissance*. Teresa Berganza, *mezzo soprano* Narciso Yepes, *guitar*. Review: *Gramophone*, March, 1975.

FUENLLANA: De Antequera salió el moro; Vos me matastes; MILÁN: Toda mi vida hos amé; Aquel caballero, madre; MUDARRA: Triste estava el rey David; Si me llaman a mi; Claros y frescos ríos; Isabel, perdiste la tu faxa; NARVÁEZ: Con qué la lavaré; PISADOR: En la fuente del rosel; VALDERRÁBANO: De dónde venís amore.

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Whereas the singing on the two records discussed previously is pleasant but unremarkable, here it is distinguished as one would expect from an artist of this calibre. Particularly moving are the two Milán villancicos, each of which is performed three times, the first unadorned, the second with the singer following Milán's instructions 'hazer garganta', and the third with the alternative and more elaborate vihuela accompaniment. All the other items on the record help to set this aspect of the vihuela repertoire in its wider context.

The two records most readily available are the Ragossnig and the Teresa Berganza, both released in 1975. Between them they include a useful selection of the better-known items of the repertoire in satisfying if not entirely authentic performances. Addicts should try to get hold of the three Spanish discs. The three artists concerned have immersed themselves in the music over a period of years.

There are a number of other records which include odd items from the repertoire not otherwise available. Martin Best sings two of Pisador's villancico's 'Quien tu viese tal poder' and 'Si la noche' on Grosvenor GRS 1013; Mudarra's setting of Dido's lament from Virgil's *Aeneid* 'Dulces exuviae' is included in *Musicke of Sundrie Kindes*, (Oiseau Lyre 12 BB 203–6), together with a fantasia (10) by Narváez; and Guy and Elizabeth Robert play Valderrábano's *diferencias* on 'Conde claros' for two vihuelas on Arion ARN 38241. The Arion disc also includes music by Cabezón and Venegas de Henestrosa played on two vihuelas and a piece by Ortiz played on the vihuela and cittern. Mudarra's settings of the romances 'Triste estava el rey David' and 'Israel, mira tus montes' and of the psalm tone 'Exurge quare ob dormis' are performed with lute accompaniment on Nonesuch H 71016 and four of Fuenllana's *tientos* (174, 177, 179 & 181) by a consort of viols on Turnabout TV 34264. The two-record set *Musica Iberica* (Telefunken, SAWT 9620/1, Studio der Frühen Musik) includes Milán's setting of the romance 'Sospirastes Baldovinos', a tiento by Mudarra (printed in keyboard tablature in the original but played here on the vihuela) and the same composer's arrangements of 'Triste estava el rey David', 'Claros y frescos ríos' and 'Si me llaman', all with vihuela accompaniment.

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EARLY MUSIC FOR HARPSICHORD 3

The sixteenth century in England, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Poland, Iberia and Italy

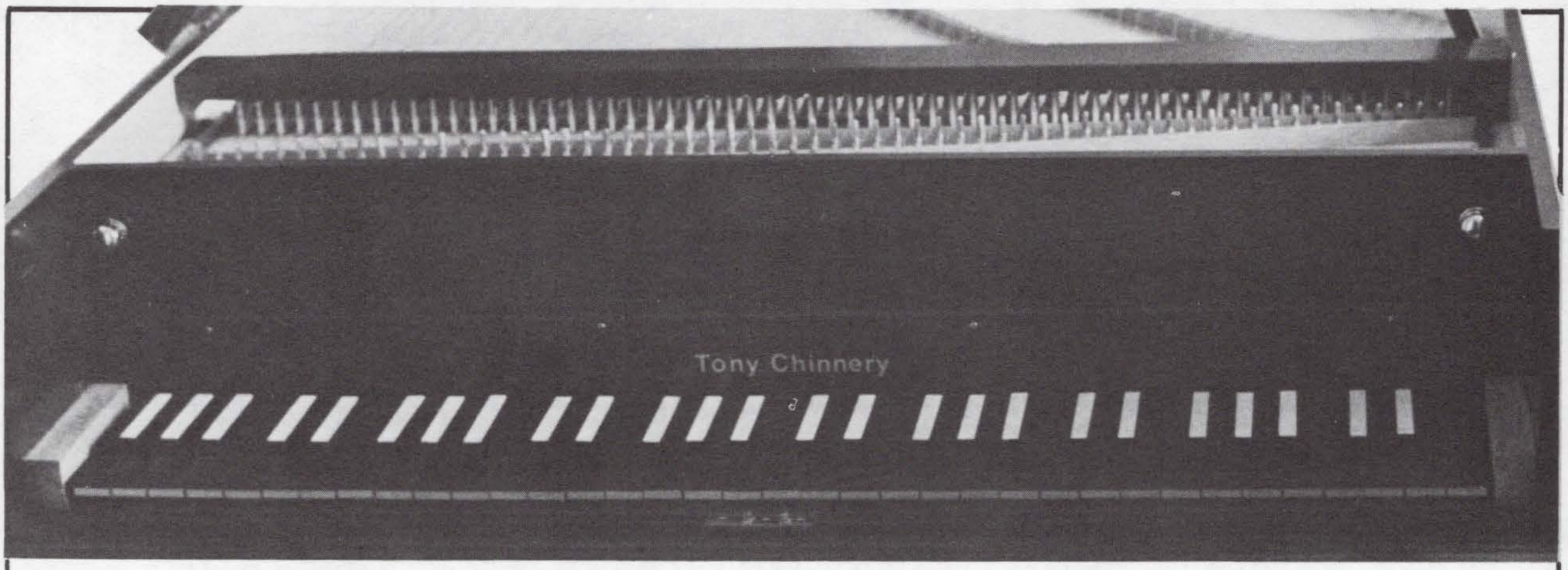
HOWARD SCHOTT

Delving into keyboard music before the mid-17th century is not as daunting as might at first appear. Much of the best music is now accessible and more is coming out from time to time. In addition to commercial publications, there are the scholarly ones, notably the *Corpus of Early Keyboard Music* (*CEKM*) series published by the American Institute of Musicology under the general editorship of Willi Apel. The series now includes forty volumes ranging from the 14th to the 17th century. It must be said, however, that notwithstanding the eminent auspices and scholars associated with the *CEKM*, the editorial standard is quite variable, especially as regards the accuracy of the texts, without a real critical commentary, and typographically undistinguished as well. Still one is most grateful to have this invaluable collection, at least as a work of reference in the larger libraries.

Much of this repertoire is disguised in published form as organ music, even in its oblong format. To be sure, much of the secular music of the 16th century succeeds admirably on the organ too, especially on a bright-toned chamber organ (*Positiv*), and there is no intent here to rob organists for the benefit of harpsichordists. But the latter must extend their browsing in this sense. The organ never having gone through a comparable period of eclipse, editors and publishers have always tended to emphasize the suitability of early keyboard music for the organ even where the original edition may have been far less restrictive.

England

The *Musica Britannica* series (*MB*), published by Stainer & Bell, have now issued the complete keyboard works of the principal virginalists, Bull, Byrd, Farnby, Gibbons and Tomkins. The standard of editing is very high. One only regrets the tendency of the editors to halve and even quarter note-values. This is done to forestall dirge-like performances of pieces written to minim, even semibreve beats rather than the modern crotchet beat. In the case of the virginalists and their division variations, working to a faster pace through progressively shorter note values, the result is black chains of almost illegible demisemiquavers, which in the small typography of the *MB* volumes renders the player's task all the more difficult. Still, these editions are basically excellent and will constitute the definitive texts for the foreseeable future. The series also offers the *Mulliner Book*, an important 16th-century



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Most readers, if only for budgetary reasons, will prefer to begin by examining the smaller books of selected works which Stainer & Bell have issued using the plates of the large *MB* volumes. The thirty-five pieces from the *Mulliner Book* unfortunately omit the charming galliards, but some of these can be found in Denis Stevens' other selection from his *MB* edition, *Altenglische Klaviermusik* published by Bärenreiter, and in the Frank Dawes series mentioned below. A selection of ten of Bull's polyphonic pieces has appeared and a further book of dance pieces is promised. Only one of the ten is duplicated in the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book* (*FVB*), happily. In the case of Byrd, however, the two Stainer & Bell books of selected works in their entirety duplicate pieces from *My Lady Nevell's Book* and the *FVB* while neglecting the many fine examples of this composer's art found only in other sources. The Nevell collection of forty-two pieces by Byrd in generally exemplary texts was well edited by Hilda Andrews for Curwen in 1926 and is currently available at a modest price in a Dover reprint.

The Gibbons and Tomkins selections are divided into pairs of books, the first said to contain 'organ pieces' but these prove to belong equally to the repertoire of the virginal in most cases. Of the Tomkins selections only one is found in the *FVB*, while merely four of the seventeen Gibbons pieces are duplicated in *Parthenia*.

As all keyboard players must know, the *FVB* in the edition of Fuller-Maitland and Barclay Squire, originally issued in 1895-9 by Breitkopf & Härtel, is now to be had in the admirable and inexpensive Dover reprint. This great anthology of 300 pieces offers a generous selection of the principal virginalists, except for Gibbons, represented by inferior texts of only two pieces, and some continental composers as well. The quality of the texts, however, is variable. In the case of Byrd, the Nevell readings are generally preferable. The editors of the *MB* complete works volumes discuss the sources and variants at length. The conscientious player who uses the *FVB* will want to revise the text from *MB*. The other major contemporary anthology, *Parthenia*, with twenty-one pieces by Byrd, Gibbons and Bull, indispensable in every harpsichordist's library, is available in an admirable edition by Thurston Dart, published by Stainer & Bell. (A glance at a pupil's copy recently revealed that the current price for this slender volume is five times the original cost, a sad commentary on inflation at work in music publishing.) An earlier and very rich collection of thirty pieces, copied out by a Cambridge scholar in 1583, and supplemented by additional works given in the editorial report by John Ward, is published as *The Dublin Virginal Book* in Vol. 3 of the Wellesley College Series.

Schott offers a series of five small volumes of English pieces of the 16th and 17th centuries, from Hugh Aston and other early Tudor composers to *Elizabeth Rogers' Virginal Book*, dated 1656. These are well selected, avoiding the major composers readily available in so many anthologies, cleanly edited by Frank Dawes and well printed. The selection of Rogers pieces has culled the best items from this rather undistinguished collection, but enthusiasts may prefer the full text, published both in a *CEKM* volume edited by George Sargent, and in a Dover edition by Charles Cofone. Among the other smaller Stainer & Bell publications both *Tisdale's Virginal Book* (*c*1600), edited by Alan Brown, and *Clement Matchett's Virginal Book* (1612), edited by Thurston Dart, are of exceptional interest. The first offers twenty-one pieces duplicating few in other collections and including outstanding keyboard versions of Dowland's 'Lachrymae Pavan' and 'Earl of Essex Galliard'. The *Matchett* book is made up mainly of sets of variations with many authentic and illuminating fingerings of the period, although, as always, one would like to know more of the player's level of accomplishment and the instrument on which he played.

The Netherlands

Except for the sizeable and varied anthology edited by Alan Curtis, *Dutch Keyboard Music of the 16th and 17th Centuries* (*Monumenta Musica Neerlandica III*), well worth investigating, especially the van Soldt MS. pieces (before 1599), this heading is really synonymous with Sweelinck. The new complete edition of his works published by the Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiednis replaces the earlier one by Max Seiffert. The first volume, containing the keyboard music, is divided into three fascicles. The second contains only pieces for organ on hymn tunes, so our concern is solely with the first, the toccatas and fantasias edited by Gustav Leonhardt, and the third, the variations edited by Frits Noske. Both are editorially excellent and beautifully printed. Many of the toccatas and fantasias suit the harpsichord as well as the organ, but it is the variations (twelve sets of undoubted authenticity, including a joint composition with a pupil, Samuel Scheidt, and one doubtful set) which will appeal the most to the harpsichordist. Those who

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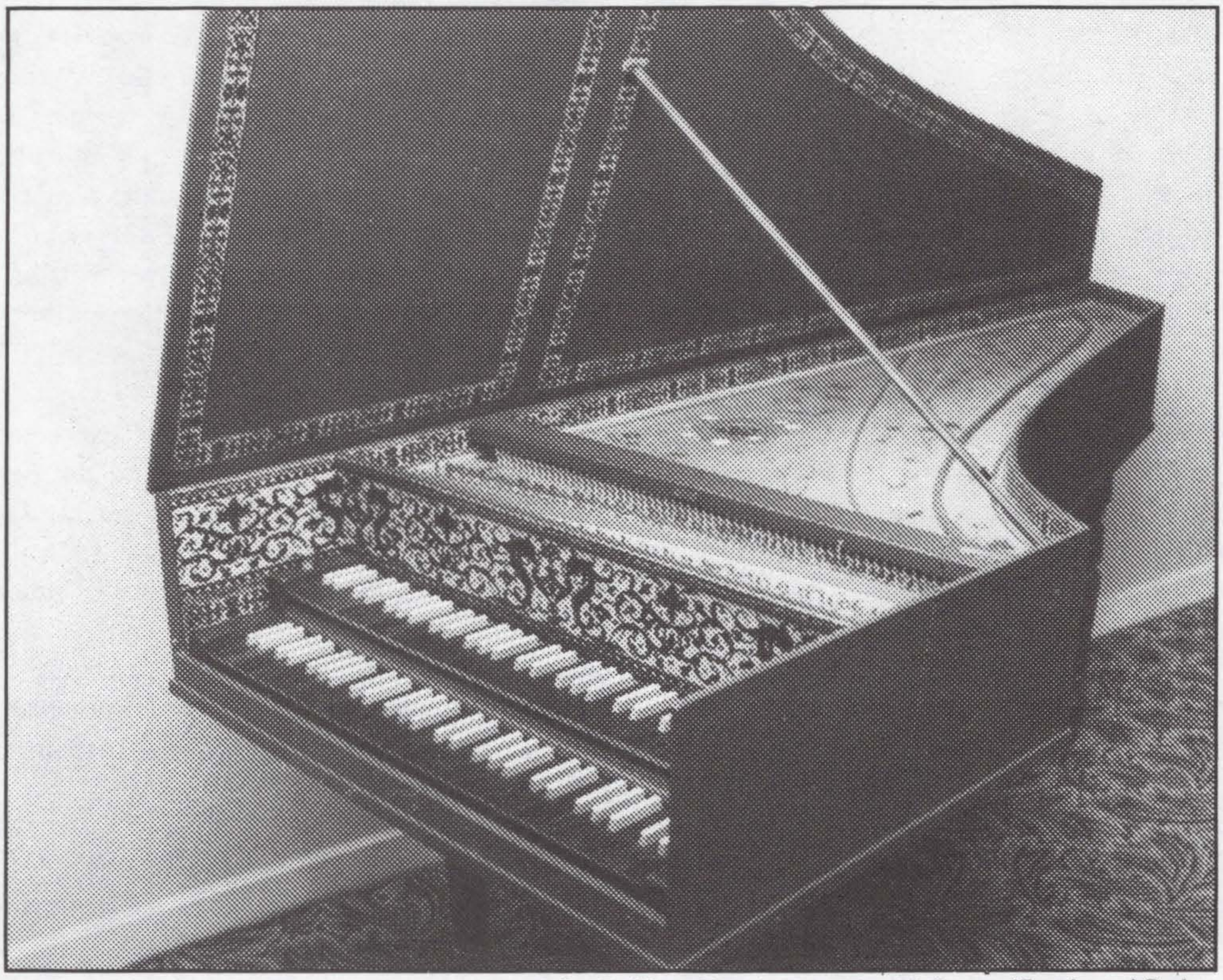

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wish to make a more modest beginning with Sweelinck can get off to a good start with the first of Dietrich Hellmann's edition in two volumes of selected works (Peters) which offers five sets of variations plus eight of the fantasias and toccatas. Three of the best sets are also published by Schott in the *Werkreihe* series as edited by Erich Doflein. But only the new complete edition presents the most authentic text and it should always be consulted even if it cannot be acquired.

France

In sharp contrast to the riches of French keyboard music in the time of Chambonnières and his successors, the 16th-century repertoire is almost non-existent. Perhaps some lost manuscripts may yet come to light, but today one can only list Attaingnant's publications of 1530-31 and a single manuscript volume in Munich as constituting this repertoire. Of the seven volumes issued by Attaingnant, three are organ music for liturgical use. Of the remaining four, three contain chansons in intabulated form and these have been issued in an edition by Albert Seay published by American Institute of Musicology, not in *CEKM* but in a series with the awesome title *Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae*. The last volume is issued in the *CEKM*, a book of dances edited by Daniel Heartz in conjunction with a 1551 Italian collection as *Keyboard Dances from the Earliest 16th Century*. A delightful collection of nine chansons similarly transcribed for keyboard is presented in a volume in Heugel's *Pupitre* series edited by Jean Bonfils as *Chansons françaises pour orgue (vers 1550)*. The pieces qualify as harpsichord music fully.

Germany

Much of the keyboard music of the German renaissance masters does fall exclusively within the domain of the organ. What remains for the harpsichord is mainly dance music contained in a number of tablatures. Most of them can be studied only in Wilhelm Merian's classic work, *Der Tanz in den deutschen Tabulaturbüchern*, which contains 184 pieces in dance form, unfortunately in transcriptions which quarter the note-values. Intabulations of songs also exist and a selection of nineteen is published by Bärenreiter in an edition by Wilhelm Ehmann as *Alte Liedsätze für Orgel oder Klavier*, and these include a number of dances and variations based on the intabulated songs. Although in fact rather later in date than 1600, the book of *Lied-und Tanzvariationen der Sweelinck-Schule* edited by Werner Brieg for Schott offers some extremely attractive pieces in the virginalist tradition as much as Sweelinck's, and is highly recommended.

Poland

The Keyboard Tablature of Johannes of Lublin (*c*1540), a rich and varied collection of international scope, has been edited in full by J. R. White for *CEKM*. In addition to sacred music indisputably for organ, it contains considerable secular music suitable for harpsichord, notably dance pieces in the fourth and fifth of the six volumes. (A collection of thirty-six of the dances from this tablature, edited by Adolf Chybiński, published by the Polish National Edition in 1948 is out of print, unfortunately.)

Iberia

There is no question here but that Antonio de Cabezón is the outstanding figure. Yet there is no satisfactory complete edition of his works. M. S. Kastner's two volumes of selected pieces published by Schott will be found serviceable. The attempts at complete coverage by Pedrell and Anglés need badly to be superseded, while the new edition by Charles Jacobs, published by the Institute of Medieval Music, is not yet complete and, in any case, has not met with universal approbation. Additional pieces by Cabezón and other Iberian composers from the 16th to the 18th centuries are included in the two volumes entitled *Silva Iberica* which Kastner has edited for Schott. He is also credited with a complete edition of the works published in 1620 by Portugal's leading keyboardist, Manuel Rodrigues Coelho (published by the Fundação Gulbenkian), as well as volumes of his selected works issued by Schott, one of *Tentos*, polyphonic pieces, and another of four *Susanas*, i.e. *tentos* on Lasso's chanson *Suzanne un jour*.

Italy

A number of dance collections offer attractive material for harpsichordists. The *Balli Antichi Venziani* (*c*1520) edited by Knud Jeppesen for Hansen is probably the earliest such collection, taken from a Venetian manuscript, musically very unsophisticated but not without a certain charm. The *Intabolatura Nova di Balli*, published in Venice in 1551, is available in no less than three recent editions. It appears with Attaingnant's dances of 1531 in the *CEKM* volume edited by Daniel Heartz previously noted. There are editions by Thurston Dart and William Oxenbury (Stainer & Bell), and Friedrich Cerha (Doblinger's *Diletto Musicale* series). All are quite satisfactory. The complete *Balli d'Arpicordo* of Marco Facoli (1588) have been edited by

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Willi Apel for *CEKM*, while Friedrich Cerha has made an excellent selection of the best pieces for Doblinger's *Diletto Musicale*. Radino's *Intavolatura di balli d'arpicordo* (1592), edited by Susan Ellingworth for *CEKM*, offers some attractive dances. My personal favourite is the last of these early collections, Giovanni Picchi's *Intavolatura di Balli d'Arpicordo*, published in 1621, which also includes some German, Hungarian and Polish dances. It is available again in the Forni reprint of Oscar Chilesotti's edition originally published by Ricordi.

The principal individual composers of interest here are Claudio Merulo and the two Gabrielis. Merulo's Canzoni of 1592, edited by Pierre Pidoux for Bärenreiter, and certain of the toccatas, edited by Sandro Dalla Libera in three volumes for Ricordi, lend themselves to performance on the harpsichord. In the keyboard music of Andrea Gabrieli, too, one finds genuinely idiomatic writing for the instrument and the words on the covers of the five volumes edited by Pierre Pidoux for Bärenreiter of this master's works, *für Orgel*, are unduly restrictive as compared with the wording of the original title-pages. The first two volumes of the *Composizioni per Organo* of Giovanni Gabrieli edited by Sandro Dalla Libera for Ricordi, offer toccatas and polyphonic pieces which suit the harpsichord admirably. (The third volume is mainly concerned with liturgical music for organ exclusively.)

Anthologies

Two anthologies include a representative selection of 16th-century pieces of immediate appeal. Willi Apel's two volumes of *Musik aus früher Zeit*, still going strong, misprints and all after forty years, and occasionally guilty of the sin of abridgement, too, nevertheless has to be recommended if only for the sake of the less experienced player. The pieces are not only well selected but they are generally technically undemanding despite their great musical interest. The first volume of the pair edited by Wolfgang Auler for Peters as *Spielbuch für die Kleinorgel*, contains some outstanding 16th-century works: three of Cabezón's best sets of variations and Sweelinck's on *Ick voer al over Rhijn*, duplicated neither by Hellmann's nor Doflein's selected works.

In the April issue Howard Schott will be translating the most significant portions of Monsieur de Saint Lambert's Les Principes du Clavecin, *published in Paris in 1702.*

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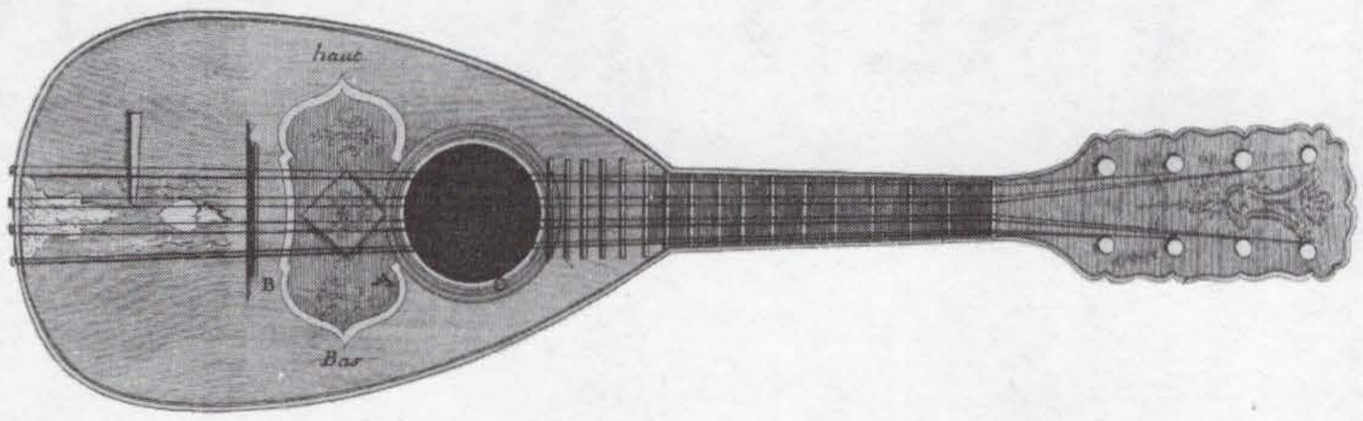
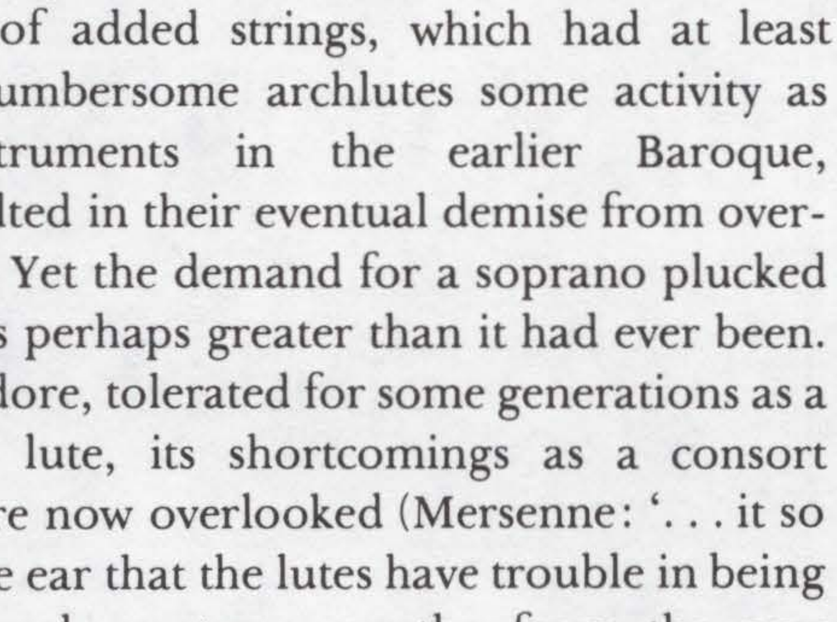


Like many of the formal structures developed during the Renaissance, the concept of the graduated group or 'family' as a governing order for musical instruments, was all but abandoned in the 17th century. The orphaned survivors of these families, now valued and developed for an individual timbre rather than as separate parts of an 'unbroken' whole, tended to be those members found at the extremes of the pitch range. An obvious example is to be found with the disappearance of the viol family, which left the tenacious gamba a considerable 'Indian summer' of a career as both solo and continuo instrument.

The lute family too, did not survive intact; but the vast number of added strings, which had at least allowed the cumbersome archlutes some activity as continuo instruments in the earlier Baroque, inevitably resulted in their eventual demise from oversophistication. Yet the demand for a soprano plucked instrument was perhaps greater than it had ever been. The little mandore, tolerated for some generations as a quasi-soprano lute, its shortcomings as a consort instrument were now overlooked (Mersenne: '. . . it so preoccupies the ear that the lutes have trouble in being heard'); it found greater sympathy from the new sensibilities of the baroque mind.

Mersenne gives three alternative tunings 'in the ordinary tablature' for the mandore:

Ex.1



The first of these is also recorded at a rather late date by Walther (*Lexicon*, 1732) who gives the pitch tuning as: g d g d. The range of this simple four-course mandore was soon extended to five and more usually in the 18th century to six courses; '. . . those with six or more strings, the better to imitate the lute, are called "Mandores luthées" ' (Walther). The carved or fretted rose, tied frets, reclining peg-box with horizontal pegs, and bridge-tied strings, are all lute-like features which were typical of mandores, and remained with the instrument long after it underwent a change of title to become a founder member of the mandoline family as the 'Milanese mandoline'.

It is not exactly known when the term 'mandoline' was first used; it shares a common stem with 'mandore' and 'mandola', in the Italian 'mandorla' meaning almond—an obvious allusion to its body profile—and owes the diminutive ending mando*lino*, to its larger predecessor the mandola (perhaps by the same process which dubbed the violino as a small viola).

However, and whenever, the term 'mandoline' was derived, the question of the instrument itself is a puzzling and confusing one. Much of this arises from the seemingly endless list of mandoline types—which reads rather like the menu of spaghetti dishes at one's local trattoria—Milanese, Napoletano, Fiorentino, Siciliano, Genovese, Romano, Padovano, Veneziano—and, like spaghetti dishes, these many different mandolines are little more than local variants on two basic themes, the Milanese and the Neapolitan—their development, I suspect, having more to do with matters of civic pride than with significant musicological advantage. Curt Sachs in his *Reallexikon der Musikinstrumente* (1913) gives a brave account of these regional hybrids, their characteristics, peculiarities, and supposed tunings.

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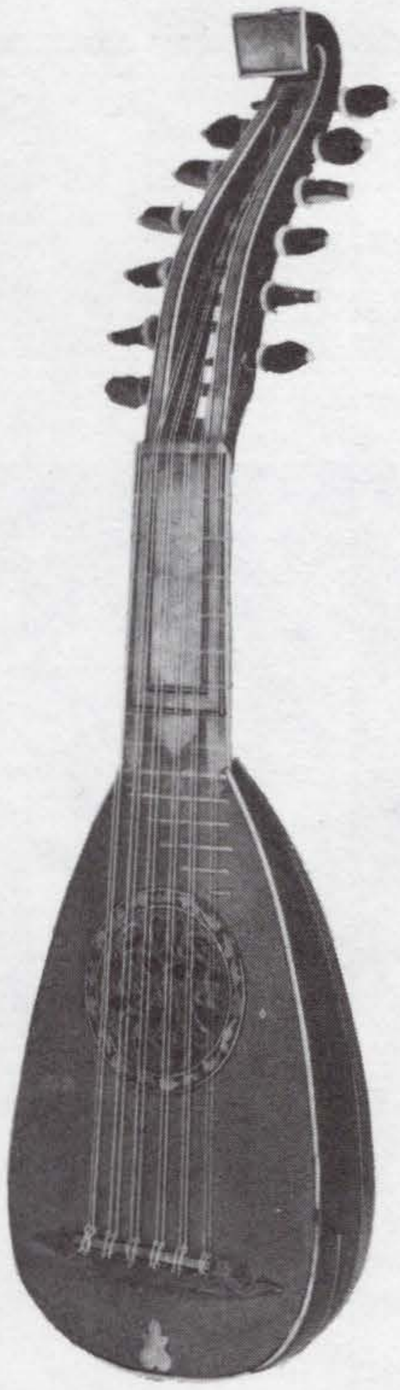

(2) The Concert *by Pietro Longhi (1702-85). (Brera, Milan)*

(1) Milanese mandoline by Francesco and Giuseppe Presbler, Milan (1775). (Donaldson Collection, Royal College of Music, London)

To return to our two basic types: as I have said, the mandore continued life in the 18th century as the Milanese mandoline, made (to compound the confusion) in various towns in Italy, as well as in France. The family of makers renowned for the manufacture of this instrument, however, were the Presblers, who did at least live and work in Milan (Pl. 1). It must have been a very popular instrument, for many examples survive, due no doubt to an often jewel-like richness and the toyish appeal of the miniature. It is interesting, too, that not infrequently they are found in 'matched' pairs (like duelling pistols), most probably intended for 'domestic' use, in the same sense perhaps. A delightful 'parlatorio' painting by Pietro Longhi in the Brera, Milan, *The Little Concert* (Pl. 2) shows two mandores/Milanese mandolines, a rare depiction, being played together.

The other important mandoline type of the 18th century, and the only lute-backed instrument to survive to the present day in fairly constant, though varied, use, was, and is, the 'Neapolitan' mandoline. A true child of its time, it was a typically 'baroque' amalgam of previously separate ideas, combining violin tuning with lute stringing, the body form and tessitura of the mandore, the peg, neck and head system of the guitar, together with the raked soundboard and string anchorage of the chittara battente. These last two features concerning the stringing system used (i.e. raked soundboard with button fixture and peg-board with posterior pegs), were not however unprecedented features in mandoline design—they can be found in the Genoese mandoline, an early 18th-century 'battente' variation of the Milanese instrument.

It is easy to understand why such a synthesis as the Neapolitan mandoline was made: the efficiency of the violin tuning in fifths was of enormous advantage to melodic playing, particularly in Italy where many of the great composers were violin virtuosi, whose ideas would not lie so comfortably in the lute-like tuning of the Milanese instrument, a disposition rather more

Ex.2

Ex.3

suited to a tablature form of notation than to the staff notation so essential to baroque musical practice.

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raked soundboard (allowing the use of metal strings or a mixture of metal-covered silk strings and gut), both added a greater flexibility of tonal range and power—so necessary for a little instrument which was now finding itself surrounded by the orchestras of opera and oratorio, or battling with them in a concerto role.

The question of when the Neapolitan mandoline first appeared is something of a mystery. References to 'mandoline' (as opposed to 'mandora') occur in Italy from around the beginning of the 18th century (first appearances in opera or oratorio obbligati are in: Ariosti's *Marte Placato*, 1704; Conti's *Il Gioseffo*, 1706; Bononcini's *Il Terraspo*, 1709). The first English audience was treated in 1713 to the performance, by maestro Sodi, of a concerto 'on the mandoline, being an instrument much admired in Rome, but never before Publicke here'.

The earliest Neapolitan mandolines, however, would seem to have been developed by the famed workshops of the Vinaccia family (Pl. 3) who were working in Naples throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, and making the larger mandolas from the third decade of the 18th. (The early instruments of Antonio Vinaccia remain the finest ever produced.) The earliest dates found in the surviving Vinaccia mandolines seemed to be from the 1760s, although I did recently discover (in a Venetian antique shop) a battered but interesting example by 'Joannes' Vinaccia of 1753, to which I will refer later.

This discrepancy of date could easily be explained if one assumes that any pre-1750 mention of 'mandolini' refers to the five- or six-course Milanese type. If, however, the pre-1750 music itself is more closely examined, it is likely that in many cases an instrument tuned in fifths, like the violin, was required. Vivaldi's oratorio *Juditha* (1714), for example, features an exquisite aria (in D major) for soprano, with an obbligato mandoline making use of a violinistic figure of a broken octave alternating with a descending scale passage. In a fifth's tuning this lies on two adjacent strings—moreover, the figure returns, a fifth lower down. In such writing an instrument tuned like a violin would give the essential aural effect of allowing more than one course to vibrate at once, whilst avoiding the somewhat unidiomatic practice of having to 'jump' intermediary courses with the plectrum. A similar instance is found in the same composer's Concerto in C major, where the mandolinist is required to execute a series of running broken-octaves, with at least the same ease as the accompanying violins. This raises the troublesome question of

(3) Neapolitan mandoline by Antonio Vinaccia, Naples (1765) (Kevin Coates)

(4) Neapolitan mandoline by Carolus Hellmer, Prague (1788). A rare and interesting example of a non-Italian 'neapolitan' mandoline. It was made in the year following the première of Mozart's Don Giovanni *(Kevin Coates)*

which mandoline was intended, if the six-course mandore/Milanese type (the four-course instrument having been superseded in the 17th century), was not really suited to the music asked of it, and no specifically violin-tuned mandoline is known to survive from this period.

At this point we must at least consider the possible existence of some sort of lost transitional instrument, or alternatively, a transitional tuning. In such 'missing link' cases, the evidence of paintings can be invaluable, but, as mentioned earlier, mandores and mandolines are surprisingly shy subjects. One painting, however, which does come to mind is an *Attributes of Music* by the great Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin (Pl. 5) who painted many such 'musical still-lifes' throughout his career, several of which are unfortunately now lost. This canvas, a fairly late one for Chardin (1765)—now in the Louvre collection—shows many contemporary instruments: violin, horn, trumpet, bagpipes,

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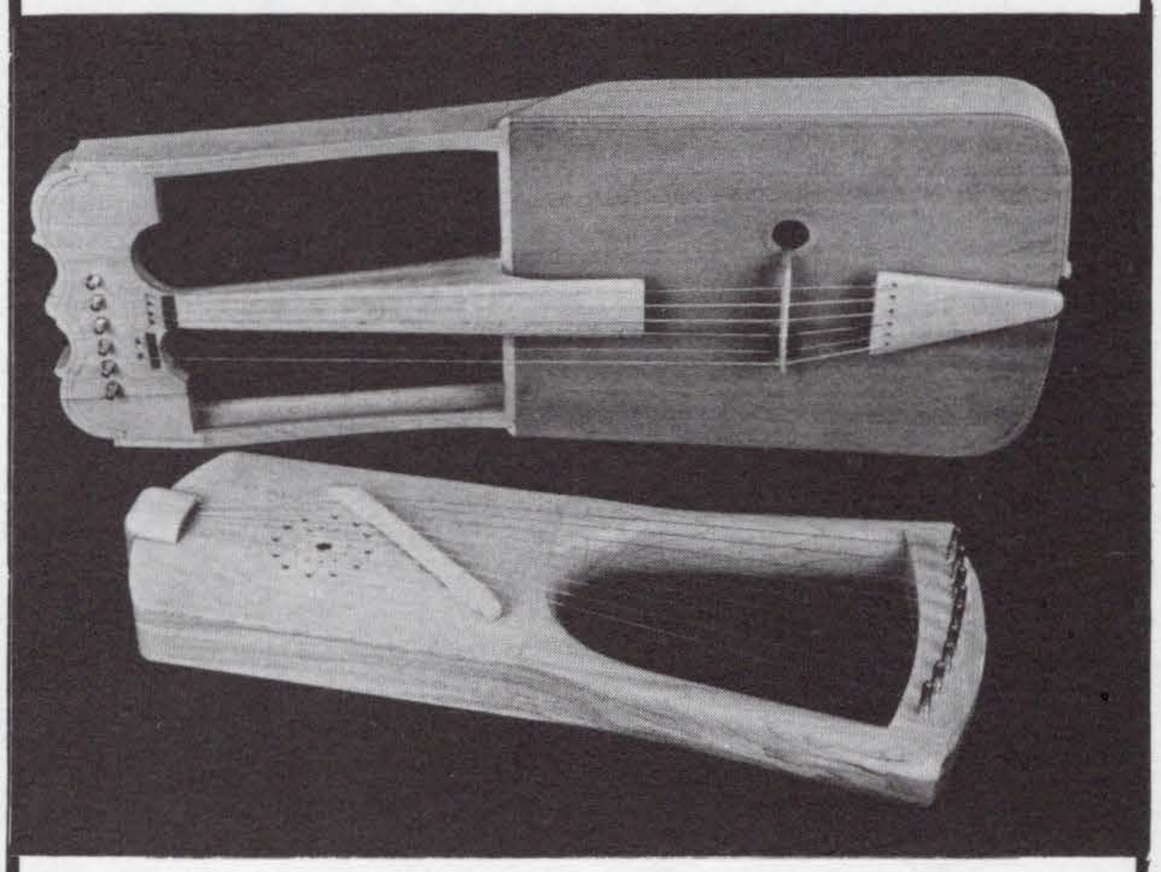

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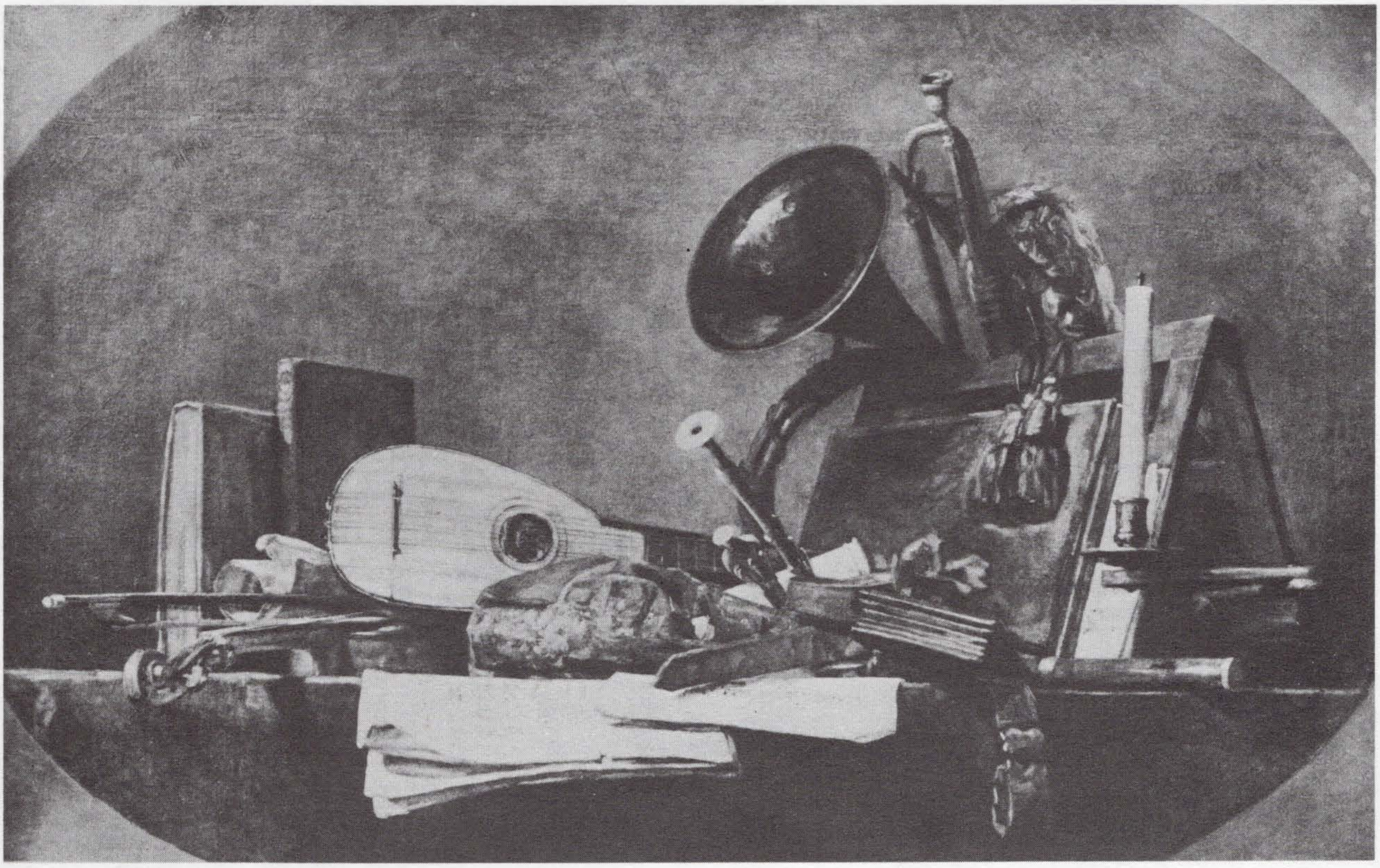
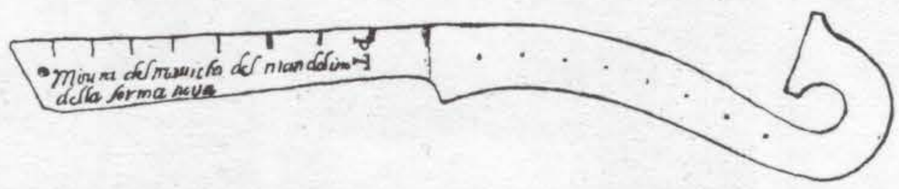


(5) Attributes of Music *by Chardin (1699-1779). (Louvre, Paris)*

and a small plucked instrument, which, at first sight, one imagines to be an ordinary Neapolitan mandoline; the raked soundboard with four pairs of strings is clearly tilted in our direction, but as our gaze 'reads' the picture from the left we find there is no characteristic scratchplate, and that the soundhole is unexpectedly occupied by a carved rose, above which the wood of the table extends into the fingerboard. This last feature, although often found in lutes and guitars (before the later, applied, fingerboard was adopted), is rare in the Neapolitan mandoline, but was present, together with fingerboard beards, in the early Vinaccia found in Venice. (These features are not found in any of the family's later work, and like the instrument in the Chardin, this Joannes Vinaccia retained the slimmer proportions of the mandore—being a good deal smaller than even the small model used by Antonio Vinaccia in the 1760s.)

Perhaps the most intriguing pointer to an earlier, four-course, mandoline than the Vinaccia and Fabricatore instruments now in our museums, is provided by that pre-eminent luthier, Antonio Stradivari, who seems to have devoted some of his genius to the design of plucked instruments, which include various mandole and mandolini. Although it is not certain if any of these last instruments survive (a possible fragment did



(6) Pattern for the head and neck of a 'mandolino' by Antonio Stradivari (Museo Civico di Cremona)

slip through a London saleroom a year or two ago), the prodigious fame and respect that Stradivari won for his work during the long and ceaseless labour of his life, did assure the survival of a considerable collection of models, templates, plans, and designs. These cover a surprisingly wide field of stringed instruments in many different aspects, from major construction to minor decoration. Amongst the templates dealing with 'mandolini' is one illustrated here of the head and neck (in profile) of a mandoline (6). This is of the open 'S' volute type, terminating in an escutcheon—Strad's usual solution to the head problem when not carving one of his exquisite and inimitable scrolls—it is quite typical of the period and is found on many mandores and Milanese instruments, but where these would by

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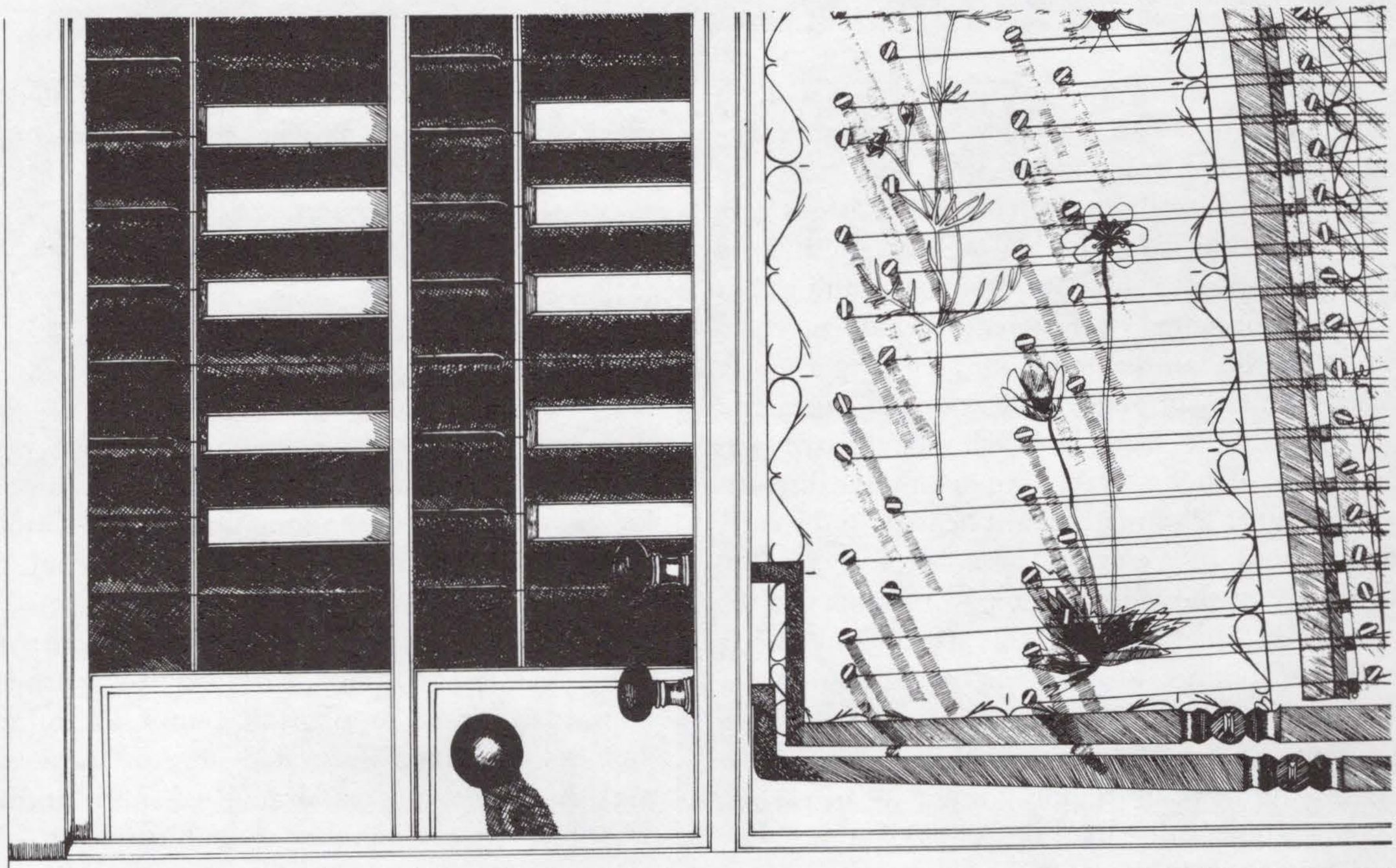

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this time be pierced by ten or twelve peg-holes for the five, or more likely six, courses, this head has facility for only eight pegs—four courses. The neck, in this template, which is marked with nine fret positions, is also inscribed (in the hand of his luthier son Omobono): 'Misura del manicho del mandolino della forma nova' (i.e. 'model for the head of the new form of mandoline').

This then, is no archaic four-course form of mandore.

Whensoever it emerged from the wings, and whether or not its entrance was heralded by some precursory form, the Neapolitan instrument had firmly upstaged its other mandoline cousins by the second half of the 18th century—having the great consumer advantage of an existing market in the violinists of the time.

(7) Part of the mandoline line from 'Hark he strikes the Golden Lyre', soprano aria with mandoline and harp obbligato from Handel's Alexander Balus

The mandoline was still predominantly an Italian instrument, but its fame, and indeed its use, were spreading. The Dresden court composer Johann-Adolph Hasse, known in Italy as 'Il Sassone', wrote a delightful little concerto, so expressive of the mandoline's character, during his stay in Naples (1724–30). Handel, another Italian traveller, also succumbed to the charm of the mandoline, and blended its timbre with that of the harp to evoke the 'Golden Lyre' of Apollo, in a delicately scored soprano aria in his oratorio *Alexander Balus*, first produced at Covent Garden in March 1748.(7)

If the evocative charm and grace of the mandoline's sound assured it of a place in the opera-pit, then it was perhaps inevitable that the instrument's obvious visual appeal would lead to its appearance on the opera stage. Alas, no step in the development of the mandoline could have been more limiting: to be heard always to play the serenades was bad enough; to be seen always to play them branded the instrument with an image and function which was to decay with the idea and quality of the serenade itself. Magic must always fade—if only to be recognized as having been 'magical'—and this *fêtes-galantes* stage-world of dreamy unrealities and serenade enchantment itself was not to survive the political and social turbulences of the closing of the century. Unfortunately, it is the mandoline which did survive this cataclysm—a coarsened, vulgarized, factory-produced, instrument-of-the-streets, which is called to mind as 'the mandoline'—even in days as concerned with authenticity and original form as our own.

The refined, let us say 'baroque', form of the Neapolitan mandoline, then, had a rather short and wistful existence. Even in an illustrious workshop like that of the Vinaccia family, the perfection at first achieved in the conception and execution of the instrument by the great Antonio Vinaccia, was gradually to deteriorate until the quality of the making matched the decline in the mandoline's contemporary social status. Before this 'fall from grace', in the two decades or so when the instrument received full benefit of the luthier's art, its diminutive body, so much smaller than its coarser modern descendant, was massed with rich decoration of bone, ebony, gold-foiled tortoiseshell, pearl, horn and lacquers. The wood spared from inlay was usually of the choicest quality, and, in the case of the fluted ribs, carved to the transparent thinness of paper. In short, like many 'social' instruments of the time, it became as much an 'object of vertu' and fashion, as it was an instrument of

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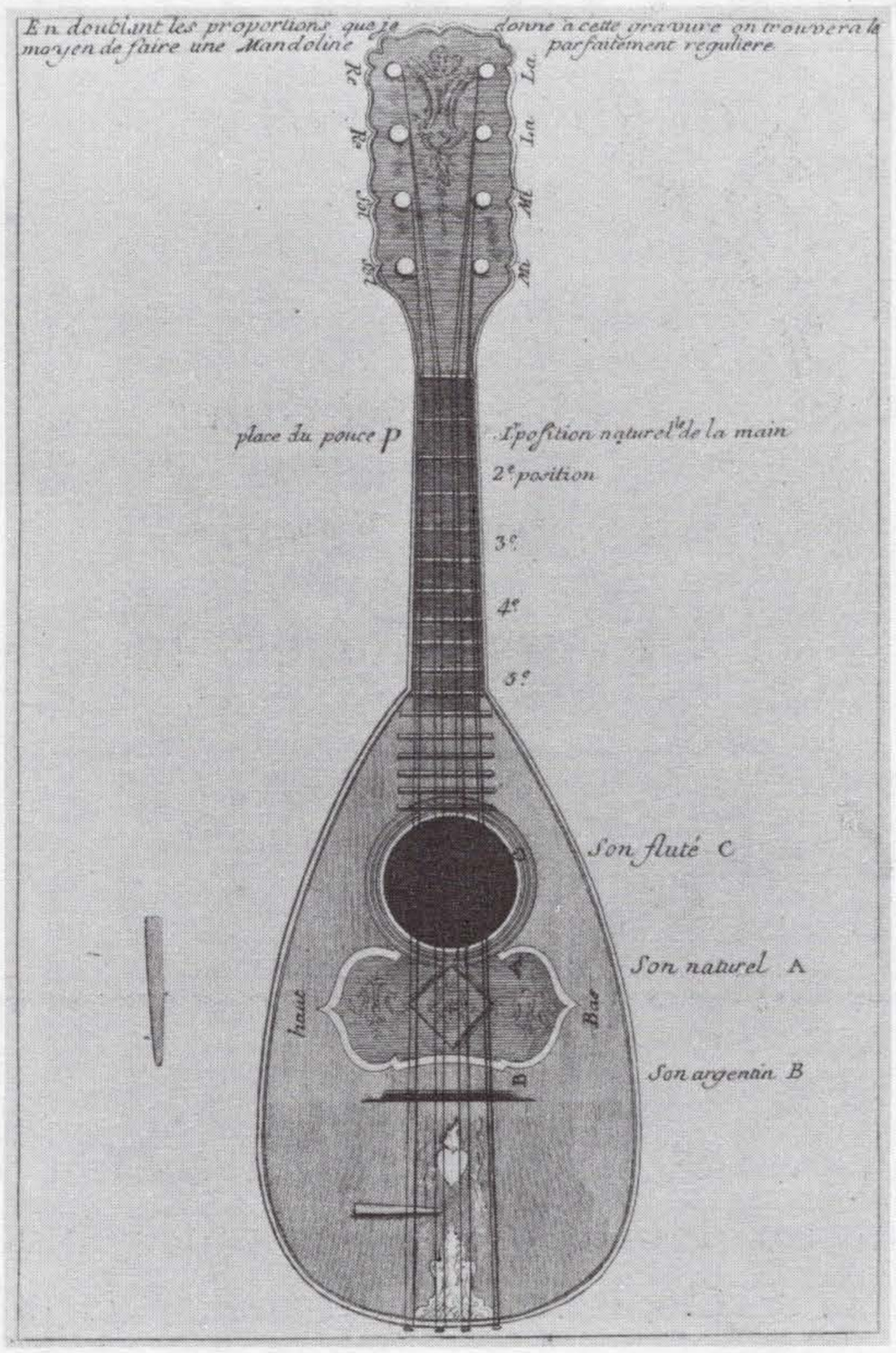
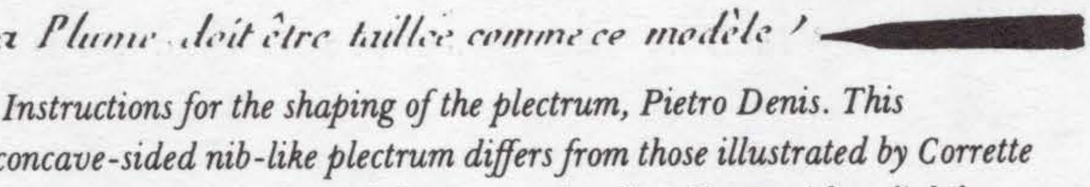
music—a concept which could not outlast the sobriety of 'classical' musical instrument design, with its increasing orientation toward machine-aided and factory-assembled manufacture.

Apart from the physical aspects of size, weight, and aesthetic appeal, the 'baroque' mandoline differs from its modern counterpart in its stringing, and method of



(8) Leone's 'ideal mandoline' diagram from the tutor of 1770

play. At first the instrument was partly, or wholly, strung in gut and twisted silk, all-metal wire-stringing probably only becoming the accepted practice with the adoption of machine-heads during the 19th century. A



(9) Instructions for the shaping of the plectrum, Pietro Denis. This concave-sided nib-like plectrum differs from those illustrated by Corrette and by Leone (8) who both favour a pointed mediator with a slightly rounded end.

mediator or plectrum was always used with the Neapolitan instrument, whilst the Milanese could be played with either the fingers or the quill. Michel Corrette (*Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre à jouer en très peu de temps la Mandoline*, 1764) recommends the pared-down quill of a raven; another authority, Leone, (a Neapolitan, who in his *Méthode pour la Mandoline*, 1770, (8), advises his Italian readers to learn French in order better to study their instrument!) suggests that ostrich-plumes make the best plectra, and that they should be left rough at the tip to help render the sound deep and velvety. It is not certain when tortoiseshell, with its characteristic flexibility and elasticity, was first used for plucking the strings: Bortolazzi, the mandoline virtuoso, suggested (1805) the flexible 'rind' or bark of the cherrytree; but tortoiseshell, a material used so extensively in the instrument's manufacture, must surely have been in current use.

Whatever the material, the plectrum was at first only used in the stroke style. The tremolo, although mentioned in connection with the mandore by Mersenne (1636), was not used on the mandoline until about the turn of the 18th century, and then only in the nature of an occasional ornament, to be used with discretion and in isolation. It was only when mandoline writing ceased to be idiomatic, and players ceased to discriminate in their selection and adaptation of works, that the ubiquitous tremolo became such an unfortunate feature of popular mandoline-playing. This inability to sustain a note presented a problem to the composer (and sometimes a challenge to the player!), who consequently had to keep the musical line in constant motion. Despite this, the mandoline's articulate clarity was certain to appeal to 18th-century composers, and many were attracted to write for its unique, silvery timbre.

By the beginning of the 19th century the centre of mandoline activity had shifted to Vienna and Prague, where like the guitar, the mandoline (both the Neapolitan and a 'new', rather bloated, single strung variant of the Milanese) was for a short time much in demand for the popular classical works.

It surprises many to learn that Beethoven wrote for the mandoline; and although his inspiration may not have been entirely musical (two of the four surviving pieces were written for a beautiful young lady given to playing the instrument), the results display it in strongly contrasted moods and functions, and, thankfully, none of them are serenade-like. Beethoven's mandoline-writing, notwithstanding his demand for sustained adagio phrasing, is always idiomatic. Unfortunately the same could not be said of the keyboard accompaniment; here he specifies not a piano, but, somewhat anachronistically, a harpsichord. The resulting tone combination is delightful (and recommended by Michel Corrette in his *Méthode*), but the composer's handling of the harpsichord parts betrays the approach of a pianist, unfamiliar with the 'speaking' qualities of the older keyboard. The young

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lady for whose charms later mandolinists can be grateful, was 'La Belle Joséphine, Comtesse Clary'. The little Sonatina in C major, and the Andante with variations (D major), were written for her, and the Sonatina in C minor and the fine E flat major Adagio, for the composer's friend Wenzel Krumpholz, the virtuoso mandolinist and violinist.

Rather larger-scaled works were undertaken by Beethoven's teacher, Hummel, who wrote both a concerto (1799), dedicated to the Venetian virtuoso, Bortolazzi (then on one of his many northern concert tours), and a *Grande Sonata per il Clavicembalo o Piano Forte, con accompagnamente di Mandolino o Violino obligato.* As the subtitle suggests, the keyboardist has the lion's share of the action—not surprisingly, it was this part that Hummel played at its first performance with the piece's dedicatee, Signore Fr. Mora de Malfatti (who, incidentally, was Beethoven's physician), playing the mandoline.

Another, rather mysterious, figure writing mandoline music for the Viennese was a certain, as it seems there were many, Johann Hoffmann; no doubt aware of this, and the cachet of things Italianate, he dubbed himself 'Giovanni', but still retained the 'Hoffmann'. He wrote an exciting bravura concerto, as well as at least four quartets (mandoline, violin, viola, and 'lute') and a number of trios—small chamber groupings with mandoline or guitar being quite popular fare in Vienna. A member of the famed Giuliani family, Francesco Giovanni Giuliani, has also left us at least six 'miniature' quartets with the same instrumentation.

Despite this popularity, the mandoline did not outlive the 18th century for long, even in the North. By the middle of the 19th century, the instrument had fallen into such disuse that Berlioz was to write complainingly (*Traité d'Instrumentation*, 1843) that in all of Paris no mandolinist could be found to accompany a Don Giovanni; apparently even at the Opéra the poor Don had to be able to seduce Donna Elvira's maid with the support of only a plucked violin, which, as Berlioz says, is not the same thing at all. The irony and futility of a mandoline's being dragged across an opera stage as a lifeless prop, whilst its sound is imitated by a pizzicato violin, should not, I feel, go unrecorded in any history of the mandoline.

This somewhat grotesque incident symbolizes the irony of the mandoline's fate as a musical instrument; valued for the romantic associations of its image, but denied the clear, simple-hearted delight of its voice, the mandoline, like a Watteau clown, becomes just a poignant parody of the joy that it should convey.

MANDOLINE

Les donneurs de sérénades
Et les belles écouteuses
Échangent des propos fades
Sous les ramures chanteuses.

C'est Tircis et c'est Aminte,
Et c'est L'éternel Clitandre,
Et c'est Damis qui pour mainte
Cruelle fait maint vers tendre.

Leurs courtes vestes de soie,
Leurs longues robes à queues,
Leur élégance, leur joie
Et leurs molles ombres bleues

Tourbillonnent dans l'extase
D'une lune rose et grise,
Et la mandoline jase
Parmi les frissons de brise.

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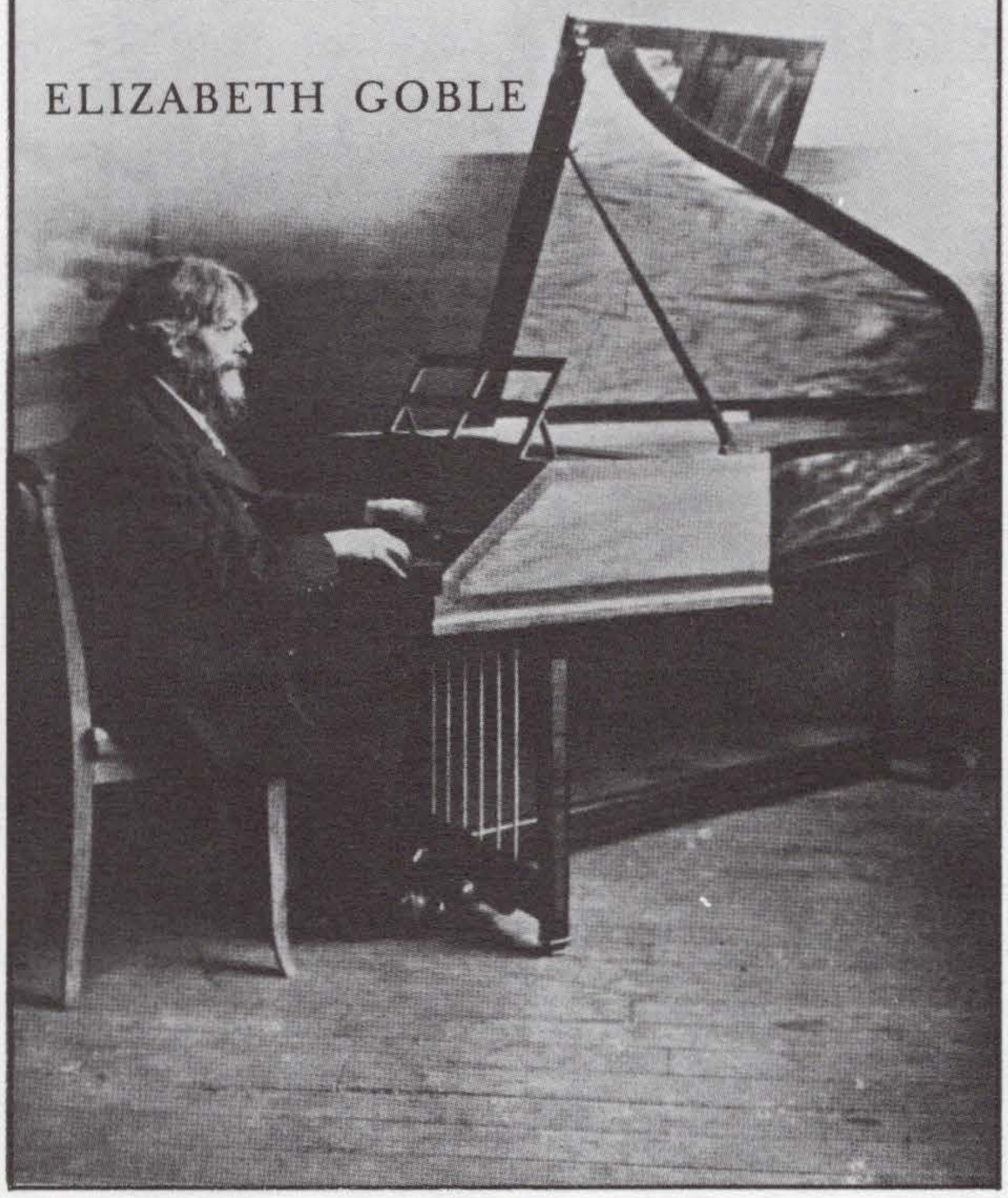

The impulses that drew me towards 'early music' manifested themselves already at an early age, when I was learning the piano as was customary in the early '20s. I was fortunate in my piano teacher, Marguerite Stilwell-Ross—an American, formerly a pupil of Pachman. Of course I was taught music by Bach, Schumann and Brahms, Beethoven, etc., but I was always asking her for 'something older, please'. At that time she would have had some difficulty in getting what I wanted, but she did find Rameau's 'La Poule' (bereft of many ornaments) which I greatly enjoyed as I am fond of hens! At that time however, I had hardly heard of the harpsichord, and of the viols not at all; it was by a providential accident that I discovered my destined medium for music-making. My elder brother was a noted rock-climber, and among those whom he initiated in this somewhat perilous art was Marco Pallis who, as it happened, had already taken up the cause of early music as expounded by Arnold Dolmetsch. Under Marco's sympathetic influence my own leanings in that direction received fresh impetus; soon I was learning the viol and taking part in my first consorts. Contact with Mr Dolmetsch soon followed, with the result that some time later, with the forming of the 'Dolmetsch Foundation' for the purpose of promoting the cause, I was offered a scholarship which took me to Haslemere as a full-time student at the age of 18.

My first lessons with the Master were a revelation to me and music took on a new dimension in the light of his remarkable insight. He was about 72 years old when I became his pupil and for many years I was in close touch with him and his family and was able to study keyboard and viol with them.

The first pieces I learnt were Giles Farnaby's 'Dream' and 'Rest' from the *Fitzwilliam Virginal Book*. I was astonished that such seemingly 'easy' pieces were in reality profound, and contained in their tiny compass all the essentials required for good harpsichord playing. Clean bright ornaments and clear part-playing were insisted upon and the contrasting sections each given their prevailing 'mood'. A.D. never encouraged people to go on too early to difficult and lengthy works; he distrusted 'quick readers' (which made me breathe sighs of relief) and he disliked browsing and superficiality in any sphere. 'Good *fingers*!' he said with scorn, 'Anyone can go rattle, rattle, rattle, but what does that mean?' (If you imagine this said with the French gutteral 'r' it was quite impressive!) His whole teaching was based on the idea and practice of studying a few pieces very accurately so that musical and technical foundations might from the start be well and truly laid. I was also set to learn Orlando Gibbons' Prelude in G with the original fingerings so that one could appreciate the phrasing thus achieved.

After this he taught me Couperin's *Ordre No. 23*. His rather clinging touch on the harpsichord coaxed a very full and beautiful tone from the instrument, more telling than that produced by others. His playing was full of imagination and a kind of magic. Thus 'L'Audacieuse', with its double-dotted rhythm, was boldness itself, and one could hear the knitting needles clicking in 'Les Tricoteuses'. (The 'dropped stitch' near the end of this piece seemed a little catastrophe!) As for 'The Goat-footed Ones', he brought out their strangeness, both humourous yet unpredictable, as they stamped around one minute and turned to face you the next. 'L'Arlequine' he played at a moderate pace, the waltz-like rhythm sometimes subtly uneven because 'Harlequin's heart was heavy owing to the loss of his Columbine'. As he played it, this piece was full of pathos.

Soon after this I was passed on to A.D.'s gifted son Rudolph for harpsichord lessons, while his father began to initiate me in the instrument which he had made peculiarly his own, namely the clavichord. Bach's *Forty-eight* are more abstract musically than the Couperin pieces I had learned, so now we were concerned solely with producing a pure clavichord tone with even touch, bringing out important features and subduing others—also learning how to produce a *bebung* which 'sang like a voice' and did not sound 'like a nervous shiver'. As both craftsman and musician A.D. was an intensely practical man, who scorned mannerisms or any meaningless movements. The fingers must be curled well towards the palm of the hand when playing, and the action of the fingers reduced to the minimum required to achieve the best musical result and evenness of tone. The ear and not the eye should be the guide at all times, and the 'Eediot editors' were well and truly trounced for unmusical

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markings. My already short fingernails were inspected at our first lesson and pronounced too long—they must be cut even shorter so that the very tips could be used without 'clicks'.

These clavichord lessons took place in Arnold Dolmetsch's bedroom which also contained his workbench and tools. He had a small free-standing black French stove with a long black chimney pipe, and in winter the stove glowed red and the room was kept very hot. The clavichord stood at the foot of the bed. One had to knock on the door and wait for 'Entrez!' and then one entered diffidently into the presence of this dynamic small man with the fine eyes and thick white hair. His lessons were for me always somewhat awe-inspiring, and sudden squalls could blow up at a moment's notice. But in my experience these always died down quickly and they certainly did not affect my enthusiasm.

Usually he played through the piece I was learning while I listened with all my ears and did my best to understand how he got his effects. His hands, though very wrinkled, were extremely supple, and I tried to copy his every movement. In the C major Prelude in Book I of the *48* the first four bars were played without expression or any particular emphasis, but then the tone changed to introduce the new interest arising in bar 5. The tempo of the Prelude was such as to keep the sense of the broken chords always moving on, with a singing tone in the bass to sustain them, and the long crescendos and diminuendos carefully brought out by the touch. His methods and rules in playing were all logical and subservient to the musical sense. Fugal themes, for instance, were to be played identically wherever they occurred, and, if possible, by the same fingers, using strong fingers for strong notes. It is difficult to explain details of fingering here but, for instance, he would often cross third finger over fourth to obtain the right emphasis, as in the legato start of the theme of the C major Fugue, so as to use the strong middle finger on the 4th note; and in another instance he kept to the two light-weight first and fourth (little) fingers only, for nine bars of the right hand in the B flat Prelude in Book I.

One of the most important points that Arnold Dolmetsch impressed upon me was the need to listen to my own playing impartially as if from the outside; thus making sure that the *meaning* of the music was made clear to the listener. He could not bear to hear a meaningless phrase, and once stopped my hands on the keyboard and said: 'This is *nonsense* that you are playing! Music is a language! This music does not contain *one note* that is not related to another like speech. It *IS* speech!' That is why he had no patience with the mostly unmusical, and almost invariably pianistic, editing in vogue at that time, and said that one should rely on one's ear and NOT on the printed music. (He could not suffer fools gladly! Certainly there were many poor and few good editions to be had in 1928-9.)

He used to say that a well-fingered passage must also be a comfortable one to play; one must avoid putting any unnecessary strain on the hand. First one had to understand what the passage demanded musically and then find a fingering which would allow the hand to function naturally without constraint or tightening of muscles. Seemingly 'unorthodox' fingerings were chosen if they helped to bring out the desired emphasis, and whenever possible similar fingerings should be used for similar phrases since this would make for musical clarity and evenness of tone, so essential on the clavichord. 'The clavichord itself will tell you where you go wrong if you listen properly' he would say. As for sharpening the pitch of a note by pressing on it—this of course showed lack of control. (No wonder J. S. Bach liked all keyboard players to study first on the clavichord.)

Without demonstration it is impossible to describe the various points of musical interpretation that Arnold's teaching contained. For instance, Bach has merely written out a bare cadence at the end of many of his preludes and fugues. Arnold Dolmetsch always added an ornament or a few passing notes carefully chosen to bring out the indicated harmonies while providing a fitting ending to the piece. 'Bach would never expect these closes to be played as written' he would say; 'he knew that players of his day would embellish and round off these endings—never play them plain like these *ee*diot pianists do nowadays.' Similarly where very long notes were written they should be unobtrusively repeated (perhaps at an 'off' beat) once they had ceased to sound. 'What is the use of holding down a note that can't be heard? Only a fool would do that. You must play it again quietly so that the harmony is complete.'

It was an unforgettable experience to hear A.D. play the Chromatic Fantasia. Under his hands the long arpeggio passages in the first part became completely understandable and flowing, while the recitative-like second part with its sudden pianos and fortes was full of tension and deep expression. This composition was much loved by him and by his audiences. The records that he made for Columbia when he was seventy-five are still able to convey something of his dynamic interpretations, but recording for gramophone was a novel art at that period, and proved a great tax on his nervous personality. Thus the published results are only a shadow, though a very valuable shadow, of his best playing. Looking back I know how very fortunate I was to have been taught by such a Master.

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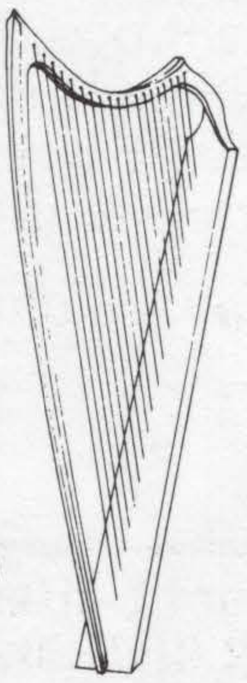

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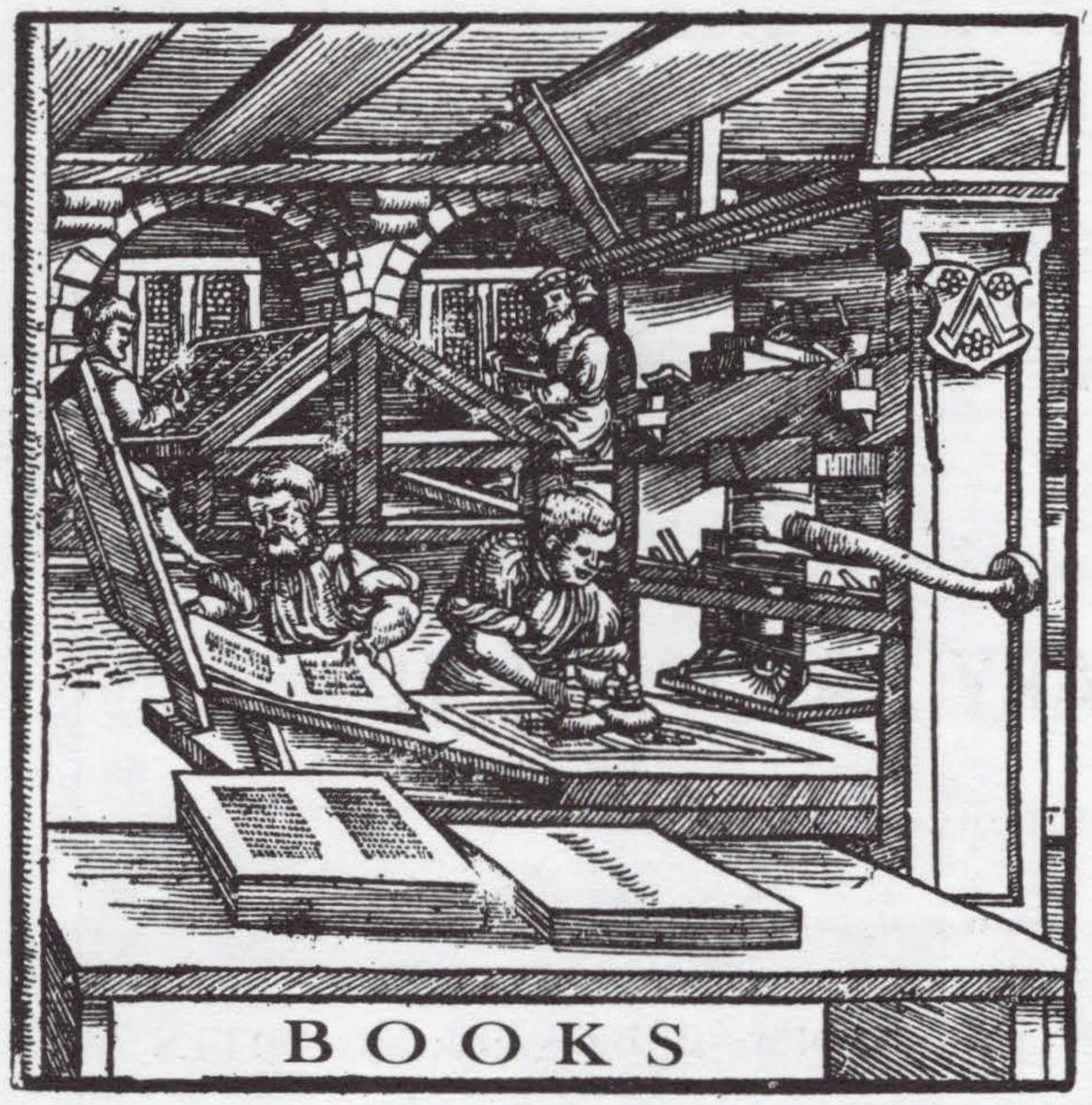

Two views on embellishment

Embellishing Sixteenth-Century Music
HOWARD M. BROWN
Oxford University Press, 1976. £2.95

Everyone knows that 16th-century music was embellished quite freely. Very few performers, to judge by recent concerts and recordings, have much idea how it was done. The results of present-day experimentation are often bad, not because they lack taste (which, as Howard Brown points out, was a hazard in the 16th century too) but because they have no real style. Which is surprising, since the evidence of what was done in the late Renaissance, although posing its own problems, is ample enough. There are about a dozen treatises which deal with the matter at some length, and quite a number of compositions embodying (presumably) the composer's ideas on how embellishments should be applied. It is even more surprising that this new book is the first in English to try and summarize the evidence for the performer, although scholars will know Imogene Horsley's various articles in the learned journals, the books and articles by Ernst Ferand on improvisation, and the invaluable Max Kuhn's *Die Verzierungs-Kunst in der Gesangs-Musik des 16.-17. Jahrhunderts.* Howard Brown's study is clearly a major addition to this list, the more welcome since it is directly addressed to a wider public than these older studies were. Any reservations expressed in this review come largely from the fact that I wish it could have been a larger book, still more amply illustrated and able to expand a number of issues.

There were two basic types of embellishment in the 16th century. One, which Brown aptly calls 'graces', are what today we would call 'ornaments', that is, small figures which are fairly constant in shape, such as a trill or a mordent. There is not very much difficulty in adding these to the music. Palestrina's motets may seem too stately to have cadential trills added on the leading notes; but this was certainly done in some performances, and is quite practicable today—and these graces are still more appropriate for many other kinds of music. Performers should notice the particular patterns these graces took, since they are not identical with those of later music, which we tend to learn first; and a certain amount of self-denial is probably a good thing, so that the ornaments do not become purely mechanical. Given these provisos, this book gives admirable and sufficient guidance, which performers should take to heart.

The other kind of embellishment are 'divisions'; and it is here that the problems really begin. Each writer of a 16th-century treatise had his own favourite set of figures to fill in the gaps between long notes. Some are relatively simple, others extremely virtuosic and complex. The wide variety between this material makes the shortness of this part of the book a little frustrating, and we could certainly have done with more examples (the reader who wishes more examples should refer to the appendices in the Kuhn, which is excellent in this regard). The great virtue of Brown's treatment is that it gets to grips with how this art of 'dividing' was used. There were performances of madrigals in which a solo voice 'divided' while the remaining parts were reduced to an accompaniment on lute or harpsichord. In this, the divisions for the soloist were virtually continuous, and sometimes quite fanciful. Howard Brown is tolerant, perhaps even enthusiastic about this way of doing things, controverting Einstein, who considered them monstrous and damaging to the music. Although acknowledging that such performances are certainly 'authentic', in the sense that they happened in the 16th century, I myself feel that they are indeed a waste of time and energy. I once heard Alfred Deller at the height of his powers singing a decorated solo version of (if memory serves aright) a madrigal by Rore. It was a brilliant display of vocal dexterity,

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sung with style and much as it might have happened centuries ago—and what a bore it turned out to be! This was the more frustating since the fellow members of Deller's consort were around him and were performing madrigals with the greatest understanding. For what was missing in the solo performance was the shape of the music, which is essentially tied to the polyphonic texture.

Adding divisions to the individual lines of a polyphonic performance can preserve this structure, as Brown makes quite clear (his summary of Zacconi's views on page 51 of the book should be pondered by any ensemble). The opening notes of each contrapuntal phrase (the punctuation points of what Charles van den Borren aptly called 'syntactic imitation') should be left reasonably plain, the embellishments coming later in the phrase during the subsidiary material which is in itself a kind of ornamental completion of the harmony and texture. Brown is also good on the differences in style between the earlier and later writers of treatises, the earlier tending to elaborate rhythmic patterns—probably in the attempt to put into notation the freedom of the performers—the later to flights of fancy involving rapid scale passages to show off the skill of the fingers. If you are going to embellish a composition today, a mixture of the tastes of the 1530s and 1580s is likely to sound strange; as indeed will the simultaneous divisions of several players which are in favour with some of today's ensembles. Here the harmony nearly always seems wrong, and perhaps the major omission of this little book concerns this very matter. For in modern performances, whenever the style seems unsure, it is mainly the harmonic grasp which is lacking. Brown's emphasis on the treatises rather than actual compositions here causes some vagueness, simply because the treatises are themselves not very helpful. What we really require is some solid analysis of what actually went on in those decorated canzonas of Giovanni Gabrieli or Giuseppe Guami, or in the lute intabulations of chansons and motets. In the meantime, the remedy is perhaps that of the 16th century itself. Serious performers should take to pastiche counterpoint in the Palestrina-cum-Zarlino style. This teaches more about the harmonic practice than anything else can do, and is what the 16th century really meant by improvisation rather than the vague methods of today.

This book is, in spite of these effects of brevity, extremely valuable, and no player should be without it. It covers most of the ground well and its full documentation directs attention to the rest of the literature of the subject where its shortcomings can be made up. If the subsequent handbooks in the series maintain its standard, it will indeed be a distinct addition to musicological literature. One of the things we need at the moment is down-to-earth guidance on performing practice. No one has yet produced a succinct study telling the singer how to set about ornamenting a *da capo* aria, a matter of every day concern, let alone of more esoteric matters. So may the *Early Music Series* flourish!

DENIS ARNOLD

This book deals with an aspect of the interpretation of 16th-century music which is of great importance for players of the lute and vihuela. There are still some performers who are blissfully unaware that anything more is demanded of them than to play exactly what is put before them in printed or manuscript form. Others realize that conventions of gracing and the use of diminutions were an integral part of performing practice but do not know where the necessary information can be found. For these reasons a book on embellishment is very welcome and Howard Mayer Brown has brought together a great deal of useful material from widely scattered sources, although the lute and vihuela, the principal concerns of this review, do not receive as detailed and accurate a treatment as their advocates will feel they deserve.

It is a great drawback that the book is narrowly confined to the 16th century. Admittedly the 15th century is touched on in the Introduction, and a very few early 17th-century sources are mentioned, but it would have been far more useful to lute-players if the end of the century had been treated with a little more latitude. Different schools of music rise and decline with little regard to this aspect of the calendar. For instance, the turn of the century cuts right across the great English school of lutenist composers, and some books are excluded, presumably because they were printed in the early years of the 17th century, although they shed much light on the last decade of the 16th.

It is in dealing with Spanish sources that some of the book's limitations become evident. For instance, on p. xii of the Introduction the author says that Juan Bermudo's *Libro llamado declaración de instrumentos musicales* (Ossuna, 1555) and Thomás de Sancta Maria's *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasía* (Valladolid, 1565) are both 'devoted exclusively to keyboard instruments'. In fact Bermudo's *Declaración* begins with 20 chapters called *Alabanças de Música* (Praises of Music). These contain valuable information about musical ideas of the time, but do not deal specifically with the keyboard. There are 19 chapters on plain chant; 32 on the vihuela, with a number of diagrams of the fingerboard for reference when

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already composed music is being arranged for the vihuela, two arrangements of the romance *'Mira Nero de tarpea'* one with accompaniment for the *vihuela comun,* the other with accompaniment for the seven-course vihuela. A woodcut of the instrument is provided. There are five chapters on the guitar; four on the bandurria and six on the harp. This book is, in some respects, the most detailed source of information we have on these instruments as they existed at the time of its publication. The instructions on how to read mensural notation and play the clavichord and organ constitute about half the total number of chapters.

Thomás de Sancta Maria clearly did not consider his book to be exclusively addressed to keyboard players when he gave it the title *Libro llamado Arte de tañer Fantasía, assi para Tecla como para Vihuela, y todo instrumento, en que se pudiere tañer a tres y a quatro vozes, y a mas* ('Book called the Art of playing the Fantasia, as well for the Keyboard as for the Vihuela, and every other instrument on which three, four or more voices can be played'). The theoretical instructions are far broader than merely pertaining to the keyboard, and the contents of chapter XIX, 'How to play with good style', are applicable to almost any Spanish instrumental music of the time.

The music example quoted on p. 3 from fol. 48 (not 47^{v} as stated) of Sancta Maria's book the *Quiebro reyterado,* in the original is given three times as various details of length, solmization and fingering for the keyboard are discussed. The last appearance, on fol. 48, identical with those on fol. 47, is followed, four paragraphs later on the page, by the remark:

It must be noted well, that for great beauty, it is now usual to begin the *Redoble* and the *Quiebro reyterado de Minimas* from one note above where it ends, and more than this, the first note of the said *Redoble* and *Quiebro* must be struck alone, and the second note must be struck with the chord which is then given.

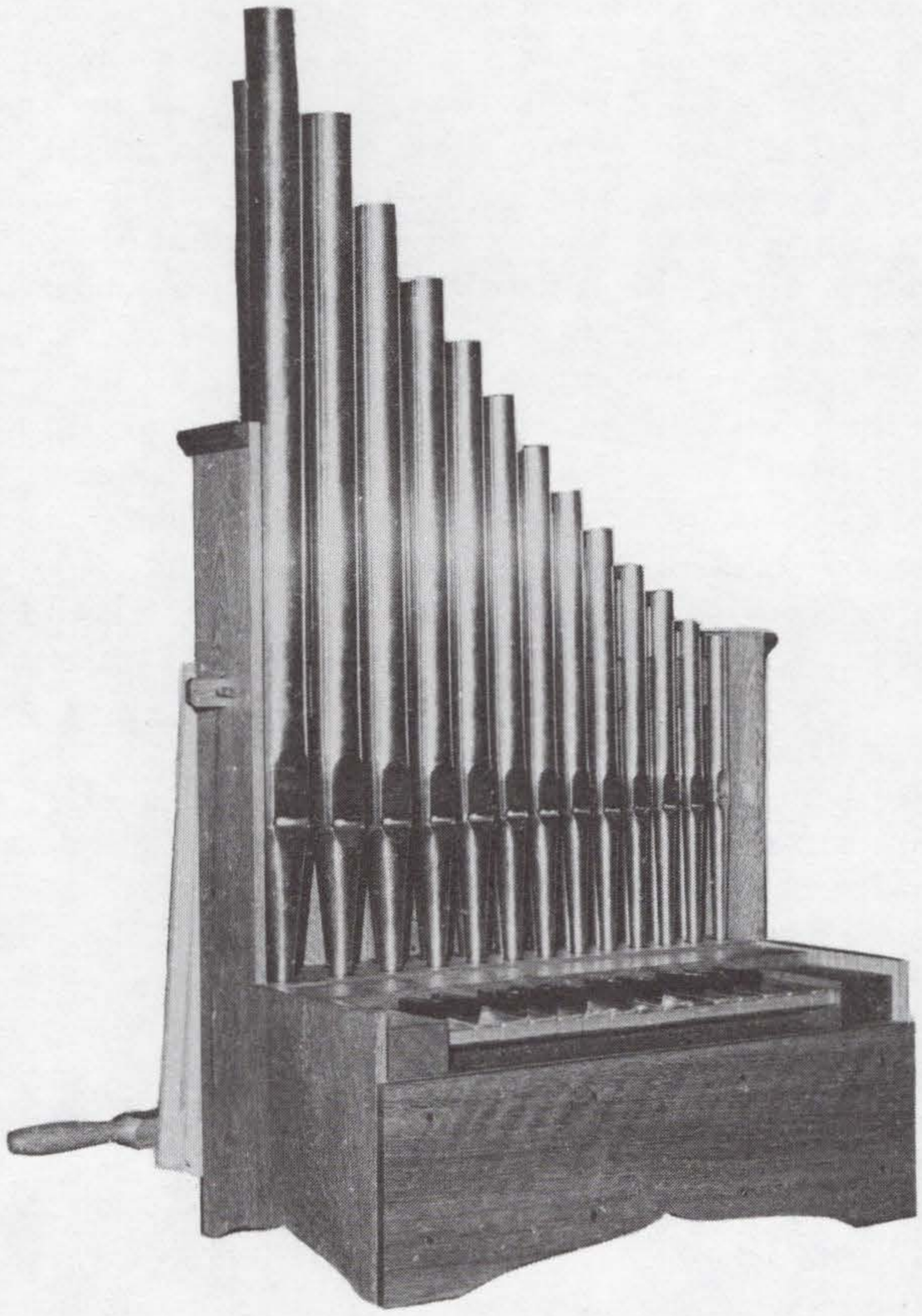
Without this statement a wrong idea of how this grace should be performed is given.

On p. 5 the author says 'only two volumes of lute music indicate *tremoli,* by signs specially invented in each case' and mentions the Capirola MS and the Milanese edition of the *Intavolatura di lauto del divino Francesco da Milano et dell' eccelente Pietro Paolo Borrono* (1548). He continues, 'While these two examples hardly constitute overwhelming proof of a ubiquitous convention, nevertheless, their evidence, weighed with the rest, strongly suggests that *tremoli* may be applied to music for the lute as well as for the keyboard.' Wyssenbach's Zurich edition in German tablature, printed in 1550, of Borrono's book of 1546, and its reprint of 1563, both show the same bracketed graces used in the 1548 book. William Barley's *A New Booke of Tablature* (1596) contains many instances of the double cross used as an ornament sign. So do the Matthew Holmes MSS at Cambridge University Library, *c* 1595-*c* 1616, and a number of other English MSS of the early years of the 17th century. It is not only to books with special signs that we look for evidence about the gracing of music for the lute and vihuela, but to the verbal descriptions which confirm this usage. Venegas de Henestrosa, in his *Libro de Cifra Nueva para tecla, harpa y vihuela* (Alcalá de Henares, 1557) prints a clear description of both vibrato and an appoggiatura from above, of exactly the same type as described in the Borrono book of 1548. The way in which Venegas writes of how the fingers are placed on the string and the fret the player wishes to ornament leaves no doubt that he had the vihuela in mind when describing the movements. In Matthäus Waissel's *Lautenbuch* (Frankfurt, 1592) instructions are given for the performance of 'mordanten' and, to go slightly outside the time limit, two books should be mentioned both of which are highly relevant to the 16th century, namely Thomas Robinson's *The Schoole of Music* and the *Thesaurus Harmonicus* of Jean Baptiste Besard, both printed in 1603. Robinson describes the 'fall' (or appoggiatura) from below, and mentions the 'relish' which is, presumably, an appoggiatura from above, or a trill. He also speaks of a 'fall with a relish'. Marks for this double ornament appear in several English MSS. In his instructions Besard comments on the necessity to imitate 'some cunning player' in the performance of 'sweet relishes and shakes' since they are too difficult to describe in words. Born a Frenchman, Besard received his musical education in Italy, and worked for a number of years in Germany. The international character of his musical interest is reflected in his *Thesaurus Harmonicus* (Cologne, 1603), in which music is brought together from almost every part of Europe where the lute was played. The breadth of knowledge revealed in his work surely makes his advice applicable to all lute music of his time.

Howard Mayer Brown speaks, on p. 1, of the Italian, Nicolà Vicentino, as being the first author to use the word *gorgia* for vocal ornamentation, and mentions Ganassi's reference to the throat (*gorga* in Venetian dialect) in 1535. The Spanish equivalent is found in Luys Milán's *El Maestro* (Valencia, 1536). Here a number of *villancicos* appear, each with alternative versions. The first of each pair is preceded by the instruction 'el cantor puede hazer garganta y la vihuela ha de yr muy espacio ('the singer can make throat and

Anonymous print, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

PORTATIVES



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the vihuela must go very slowly'). In this case the instrument hardly plays any notes other than supporting chords. For the second version the instruction says 'the singer must sing plain and the vihuela must go fast', and *glosas* are given in the tablature. Two other directions concerning embellishing also appear: 'El cantor glose donde huviere lugar' ('The singer glosses where there is room'), and 'El cantor ha de cantar con algun quiebro de voz'. *Quiebro,* according to Venegas de Henestrosa, can mean either vibrato or an appoggiatura from above. It is possible then, that when Milán uses the words 'The singer must sing with some *quiebro* of the voice', he intends to convey the meaning that he wishes some vibrato to be introduced as a grace.

There is no mention of rhythmic changes as advocated by Thomás de Sancta María in chapter XIX, and in Caccini's *Le Nuove Musiche* (Florence, 1601). They do not, of course, involve the use of additional notes, but they are, undoubtedly, an integral part of performing tradition, and some consideration of their use would have greatly added to the book's value. Similarly, vibrato might have been treated in greater detail. On p. 10, the author speaks of the *trillo,* 'a controlled vibrato on one note', and says it is 'specifically intended for the human voice alone, and indeed, it can scarcely be imitated satisfactorily on any other instrument'. As this is the only reference, I am not sure whether it is intended to cover all vibrato, or whether, for the rest, the subject is to be omitted. There is no doubt that on the lute and vihuela, with their soft gut strings, vibrato, treated as a grace, is extremely effective. I have already mentioned Venegas de Henestrosa, who wrote of its use in 1557. Spaced out through the history of the lute, references occur which suggest a steady tradition. For example, Nicolas Vallet, in *Piété royale* (1620), uses a special sign to indicate the notes on which the vibrato should be introduced; Mersenne, in *Harmonie Universelle* (1636), calls it *verre cassé* and says it was not much used in his day, although very popular in the past; Thomas Mace describes it in 1676 and calls it the 'Sting'. Many Baroque tablatures and MSS of the German period of *style galant* indicate its presence. Ernst Baron in *Untersuchung des Instruments der Lauten* (Nuremberg, 1727) is so concerned with the correct manner of performing it that he gives two methods, one for the higher courses, the other for the lower ones, with appropriate signs for each.

DIANA POULTON

French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

ISABELLE CAZEAUX

Basil Blackwell, Oxford, £10

The latest addition to Blackwell's Music Series edited by Dr F. W. Sternfeld vividly illustrates the role of music in French life during the Renaissance. It illuminates the music's cultural and social place in both ecclesiastical and secular establishments—concentrating on the royal and ducal chapels and chambers but casting some light on the musical activities of the cathedrals and municipalities of the provinces. Although making no claim to compile a definitive history the author provides a masterly synthesis of information gleaned mainly from specialist articles and monographs: thus much of the research unveiled by French authorities like Brenet, Pirro, Rokseth, Thibault and Lesure may reach the English reader alongside the more routine but more systematic investigations of recent American musicologists.

The first part deals with Music and Society; after an introductory note on the symbolic significance of the heart in French culture it turns to the examination of music at the Valois courts. An abundance of information is presented chronologically and systematically, although there are some noteworthy omissions: for example the section devoted to the devout King Louis XI does not mention the 'beaux virelais, chançons et autres bergerettes' melodiously sung by the Sainte-Chapelle choir to the accompaniment of instruments both loud and soft for the entry into Paris of his second wife Charlotte of Savoy on 1 September, 1467. The account of Charles VIII's musicians overlooks the King's delight in the duets for viols played by the brothers Jean and Charles Fernand of Bruges who were reputed for their literary as well as their musical skill. François I is described as a poet whose works were set by contemporary composers, but there is no reference to the details published in the *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association,* XCVI (1969-70). The lutenists of François' *Chambre* are mentioned by name but not the keyboard-players Jean Dugué and Antoine Delahaye; nor are the Italian brass, woodwind and violin players of the *Ecurie*. Similarly there is no mention of Henri II's organists Thomas Champion (Mithou) and Jacques du Buisson, of his chapel musicians Louis Hérault, Didier La Chenet and Jean Rousée, or of his shawm-players Charles Chevallier, Pierre de Boulland and Jean d'Estrée. Charles IX's musicians included the organist Guillaume Costeley and the 'lyre-player' Thibault de Courville: Charles's brother, François, duke of Anjou and Alençon, employed Lambert Fay (his music master in 1575), the organist Loys Cramoisy, the lutenist Avrilly, the violinist P.-F. Caroubel, the cornettist Claude Viagot and the singers Jacques Salmon, Blaise Dupont, François Dulac, Jean Dupouchel and Pierre Ledoien as well as Balthasar de Beaujoyeulx, the organizer of the famous *Balet comique de la Royne* (1581).

The second part of the book opens with a succinct outline of the main trends in rhythm, texture, melody and harmony. A longer chapter on 'musical genres and their performance' contains a few erroneous statements that should be corrected: 1) the publication by Moderne in 1540 of Abel's *Estant assis aux rives aquatiques* suggests that the first polyphonic setting of Marot's psalms was not Certon's or Mornable's which appeared in 1546 (p. 187); 2) having recently transcribed Boni's sonnets, the writer of the present review finds that they are mostly schematic and

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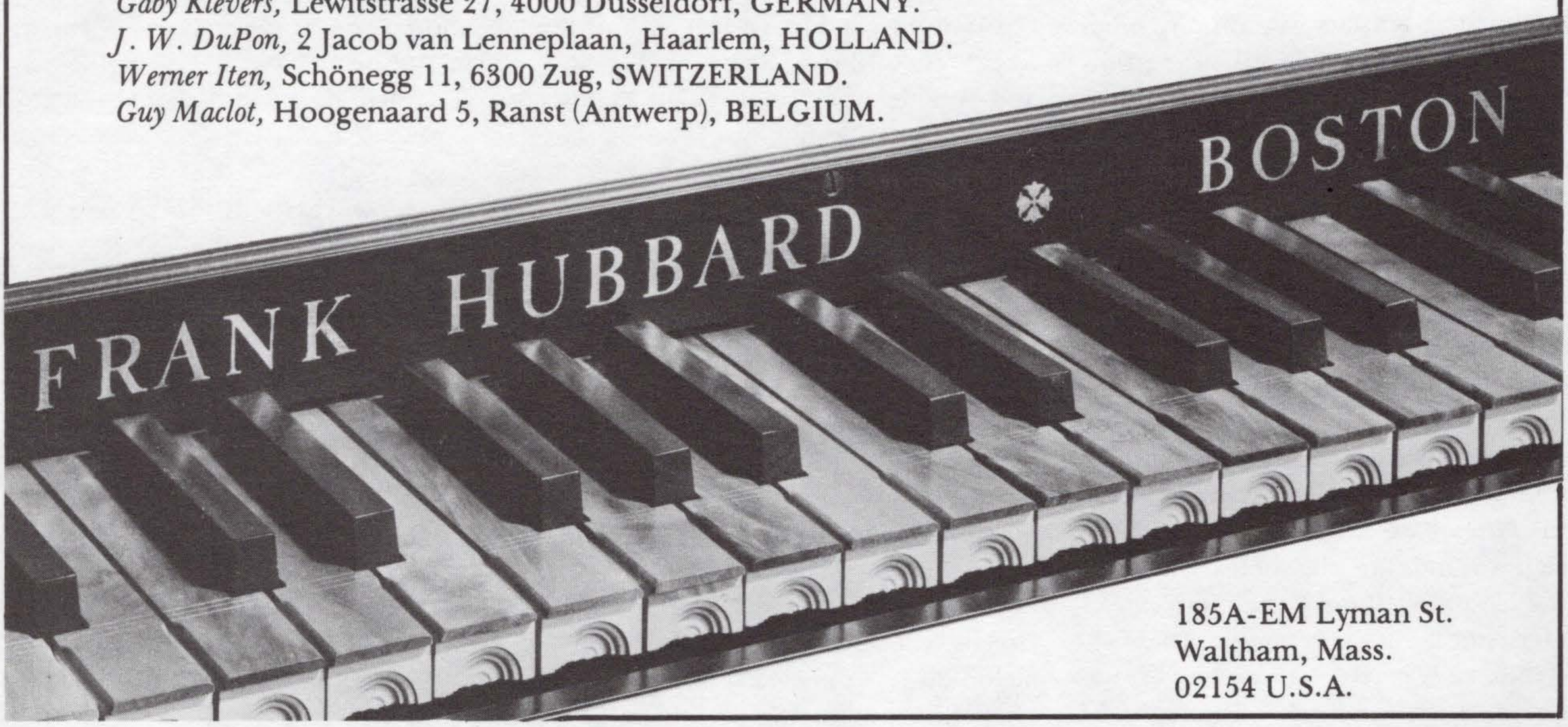

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not through-composed (p. 202); 3) Mersenne's *Harmonie Universelle* (1636) declares that the composer of the *Balet comique de la Royne* was Girard de Beaulieu, not Lambert de Beaulieu as asserted by Fétis (pp. 207 and 249). In tracing the demise of the musician-poet (p. 194) the author overlooks the 16th-century cases of Eustorg de Beaulieu, Jean Daniel, Marc-Antoine de Muret, Jean de Rangouse, Guillaume Boni and Corneille de Blockland. The list of poets favoured by the chanson composers might have included Des Périers (5), Héroët (6), Grévin (7), Tyard (7), Chappuys (10), Fontaine (10), Belleau (18), Jean Marot (19), Jamyn (20) and Du Bellay (24): the number of identified surviving settings, indicated here in parentheses, certainly exceed many of those (e.g. Marguérite de Navarre and Scève) mentioned on p. 197. Similarly the remarks on the drinking-song genre could have been amplified by the inclusion of two remarkable canonic examples of 'secret chromatic art'—Willaert's *Quid non ebrietas* and Barbe's *On doibt bien aymer le bon vin*.

A lengthy bibliography followed by separate indexes for both names and subjects concludes a truly most invaluable addition to renaissance scholarship. The reviewer's preoccupation with venial errors and omissions is in itself an acknowledgement of the author's overall commendable achievement—a rich panoply of sound information, presented with verve and lucidity.

FRANK DOBBINS

Music in Paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th Centuries

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Pieter Fischer's essay, or rather series of essays, on music in paintings of the Low Countries in the 16th and 17th centuries was not originally intended to be a book, and probably therefore it is unfair to judge it as such. Fischer was asked to write a long essay to mark the 25th anniversary of the Dutch Donemus Foundation in 1972, and his study then appeared as a double issue of 'Sonorum Speculum', the foundation's magazine. There were so many requests for copies of the journal that the editors finally decided to reissue it as a monograph with few if any changes. But there were two flaws in their reasoning: the translation into English is so awkward that it often obscures Fischer's thought, and the contents of the book, designed to appear as a journal article, seem not to have formed themselves coherently enough in the author's mind for his study to be able to stand by itself as an independent entity.

To be sure, what Fischer attempts is well worth doing, and his essay is full of interesting information and even insight into the problems involved. He sets out to consider musical notation appearing in Netherlandish paintings of the late 16th and 17th centuries, and especially as it reveals emblematic or symbolic meanings that will help us to understand late renaissance and baroque culture. First, he examines the praise of God and ideas of good and evil music in the Catholic South during the late 16th and early 17th centuries, and then he takes up in turn the concepts of vanitas, the five senses and fortune and love, various aspects of the way music was seen as a symbol of what is temporal and transient, in Protestant North Netherlands during the 17th century. Such studies are necessary and helpful in attempting to associate music with cultural history and the history of ideas, a task musicologists have by and large shirked, but which can be seen to be possible through iconographical investigation.

Much of what is unsatisfactory about Fischer's book can be demonstrated by considering briefly one of the most fascinating parts of it, his examination of a still life by Johannes Torrentius of Amsterdam, discovered in 1913 while it was being used as the lid of a currant barrel. The painting, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, shows a wine glass, a decanter, a water jug and an enigmatic page of music containing part of a Dutch song. Fischer juxtaposes a

Detail from Crispyn de Passe the Elder (1564-1637): Student Collegium musicum, Utrecht, 1612

closely related print from the title page of Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* of 1614 (though without explaining precisely what is in the book) and he associates the two pictures with the Rosicrucians, but without explaining precisely the connection between the image and the philosophy of Rosicrucianism. He notes that the picture carried the seal of Charles I of England, a fact he finds significant, even though he does not say why. He asks a number of questions about the symbolism in the painting, without fully answering any of them. And he examines the music carefully, noting how irrational it is with regard to the organization both of pitches and of rhythm, peculiarities which seem to illustrate the fragmentary text with its references to things 'out of time' and 'without time'.

Finally, Fischer concludes that the symbolic meaning of the music is that 'that which is extraordinary, beyond the normal measure, special, comes to an especially bad end if done immoderately with regard to the proportions'. That is all very well so far as it goes, but Fischer raises more interesting questions than he answers, and thus fails in the end to fit the picture into an intellectual tradition,

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partly because his exposition is so fragmentary and partly because he has not carried his investigations quite far enough. He offers some interesting suggestions about how to regard the painting, in short, but no real conclusions about its connection with intellectual or philosophical trends of the times. And much of the rest of the book is similarly so condensed, incomplete or enigmatic that no comprehensive vision of the times shines through. It is a well-intentioned and provocative essay that left me unsatisfied, even though the more than 50 illustrations, small but clear and crisply printed, add enormously to the book's attractiveness and usefulness.

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Leningradskij Institut Teatra, Muzyki i kinematografii: Katalog sobranija muzykal'nyx instrumentov [Leningrad Institute of Theatre, Music and Cinematography: Catalogue of the Musical Instrument Collection].
Leningrad, Izdatel'stvo 'Muzyka', 1972; 128pp; 1 ruble 45 kop.

An enthusiast of music before 1800 is likely to regard Russia as a kind of musical tundra—inaccessible and, anyway, devoid of interest. But the libraries and museums of the Soviet Union teem with unsuspected musical treasures. How many readers of this journal would guess, for example, that Moscow's Lenin Library possesses a wealth of French viol music in original editions? Leningrad archives have yielded up endless Italian operas and symphonies, the heritage of the westernized taste of the Imperial Court under the three empresses. And the musical instrument collection housed in the Leningrad Institute of Theatre, Music and Cinematography contains a quite astonishing number of 17th- and 18th-century 'western' instruments, a further testimony to the vitality of Russian aristocratic music-making during the 18th century.

This collection, which has been brought to the attention of English-speaking musicians and music lovers once or twice in the past (See Gerald Seaman, 'An Unknown Leningrad Museum', *Tempo*, no. 60 [1961]), is the largest instrumentarium in the USSR, which is to say it is huge. There is a similar, though much smaller instrumentarium on display at the Glinka Museum of Musical Art in Moscow, but this one is lacking a significant representation of 'early music' instruments, since Moscow did not have Leningrad's court traditions. A product of the pervasive Soviet tendency toward centralization, the Leningrad collection is actually the combined instrumentaria of four pre-revolutionary museums. The result is staggering size and a strong sense of *embarras de richesses*. The collection shares with the nearby Hermitage (which actually housed it from 1932 to 1939) the oft-noted 'miles between masterpieces' syndrome: a frustrating lack of selectivity, an abundance of senseless duplication, and the lamentable dilution of the priceless by indiscriminate intermixture of the worthless. The Leningrad instrumentarium thus cannot equal the striking effect, say, of the much smaller Mertens Gallery at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where every specimen is choice and memorable. The visitor to the Soviet collection is quite likely not even to notice the really significant items, for they are in no way set apart from the sea of trivia in the midst of which they swim. For this collection, then, a catalogue is really indispensable.

The catalogue follows the collection in an organization that might strike the western reader as a bit peculiar. Broad classification is not according to means of sound production à la Sachs-Hornbostel, but according to 'sociological' criteria, as might be expected in a 'Marxist-Leninist' milieu. The three major categories of instruments thus arrived at are (1) folk, (2) popular (*massovye*—lit., 'of the masses') and (3) professional. The first category, encompassing instruments of all non-literate and non-western traditions, is somewhat rough but serviceable, and accounts for something over half the instruments in the collection. But the distinction between 'popular' (used evidently in the sense of household or amateur music-making) and 'professional' is rather hazily and arbitrarily drawn and, with reference particularly to instruments of interest to readers of *EM*, will not withstand historical scrutiny. The lute is classified, along with the guitar, the mandolin, etc., as a 'popular' instrument; the viol, along with the other bowed strings, as a 'professional' one. And yet, as everyone knows, the lute was *the* virtuoso instrument of the high Renaissance, while the chest of viols was the gentleman's medium *par excellence* during the same period. It would seem rather that the curators of the Leningrad Institute collection envisioned the lute mainly in the hands of lovers 'neath balconies, and the viol in the hands of its 18th-century virtuosi.

As to the contents of the collection as reported in the catalogue, let us pass over what the latter proclaims to be the 'pride of the collection', namely the 'personal pianos' of most of the great Russian composers, which are more of sentimental than of organological interest. And bypassing such fascinating curiosities as a complete horn band—a Russian 18th-century speciality in which each serf player was responsible for but a single note (the deepest sounded by a monstrous instrument some fifteen feet long!), but which was capable, according to contemporary reports and surviving scores, of astounding *tours de force* of speedy execution—let us proceed directly to that small portion of the collection given over to the instruments of 'early music'. Some detail on these will serve to give an idea of the breathtaking range and depth—as well as the diffuseness—noted above.

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The listing of early string instruments is difficult to sort out, owing chiefly to a considerable confusion of terminology, and in the second place to the fact that many of them have been converted into more modern counterparts. For instance, a 'quinton' is listed among the viols, which makes it impossible to decide whether a treble viol or pardessus has been misnamed, or a violin-family instrument misclassified. Or is it a viol-turned-violin? Of 'viola da gamba', meaning bass viol, there are seven specimens, including one by Tielke. (The latter, along with the Hotteterre flute, one of the Denner oboes, and a handsome baryton, are illustrated in the catalogue with photographs of regrettable quality, typical of too many Soviet books.) The Gallicized taste of the 18th-century Russian aristocracy is reflected in the presence of no fewer than twenty-nine dancing master's *pochettes*.

There are fifteen lutes of various design, including some that have been converted into guitars or mandolins; also two theorboes (one by Tielke) and three chitarrones, along with some twenty citterns. Keyboard instruments include two clavichords, an Italian spinet dated 1532 and a monster harpsichord of doubtful pedigree ('reconstruction of an 18th-century instrument'—is the ambiguity purposeful?) with four registers (4′, 8′, 8′, 16′) and three manuals.

Except for the keyboard instruments, virtually none of the museum's holdings is maintained in playing condition, as members of the New York Pro Musica, touring the USSR in 1964, found out to their disappointment. Both the Leningrad and Glinka Museum instrumentaria occasionally sponsor concerts of old music, but at these only modern instruments are played.

The catalogue is a joy to pore over, but not really very practical to use. For anyone involved in serious organological research, its imprecision of terminology and organization will render it frustrating. A large number of instruments—including quite a few of interest to early music enthusiasts: musettes, vieles, csakans—are lumped together with monochords and 'electromandolins' in a too-large 'miscellaneous' section, evidence of hasty cataloguing. A fair amount of descriptive detail is given for the wind instruments—length of bore, number of finger holes and of keys (open and closed)—but for the string instruments only one measurement, 'length', is given, and that only sporadically, making it hard to tell whether the museum's 18th-century violins (including a Stradivarius and an Amati) are in original condition or not. While each instrument is numbered, the number apparently refers to order of acquisition or to the collection's physical layout, not to the catalogue, where the numbers are all out of order and come at the end, not the beginning, of the entries. Thus it would be a cumbersome and time-consuming task to locate any specific instrument. The catalogue is best perused in a browsing fashion, much as one would visit the museum itself. It will provide anyone who has taken the trouble to master the alphabet and the organological equivalent of 'chessplayer's Russian' with a tantalizing whiff of buried musical treasure.

RICHARD TARUSKIN

The Tender Tyrant, Nadia Boulanger

ALAN KENDALL

Macdonald and Jane's, 1976, £5.95

Not intended as a full biography but as a 'living portrait', this book takes us into the celebrated apartment at 36 rue Ballu in which so many composers, American particularly, have been influenced by a unique personality and style of teaching. In 1962 I watched Nadia Boulanger's triumphant return to America, at the age of 75, on the last of the French great ships, the *France*, as it entered New York harbour on its maiden voyage. A few days later she appeared on the rostrum of Carnegie Hall to conduct the New York Philharmonic in a programme that brought together many strands: homage to her teacher Fauré, with his *Requiem*; to one of her best pupils, Virgil Thomson, with his *A Solemn Music*; and to her composer sister Lili, who had died at the age of twenty-four, with three Psalms. This sense of dedication and devotion has suffused her life and it was in this spirit that in 1937 she made those now historic recordings of Monteverdi madrigals that still appear today on archive programmes as a witness to how interpretative styles have evolved. She succeeded in bringing knowledge of Monteverdi to an immense audience, thus building on work that had begun earlier in Paris with d'Indy's performances of the operas. She brought to life much renaissance and baroque music, especially French, and like Hindemith she will be an important figure when the history of the early music revival is eventually written. Meanwhile this book gives us some valuable documentation.

J.M.T.

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Music

Early Tudor Songs and Carols
Transcribed and ed. by John Stevens
Musica Britannica, xxxvi
Stainer and Bell, £15

John Stevens's previous work on the English vernacular song repertory of the 15th and 16th centuries can hardly fail to be familiar to the amateur of early music. With the appearance of this latest volume, Dr Stevens has now edited and published almost the entire repertory of polyphonic songs in English which survives from the period between about 1400 and the reformation. *Early Tudor Songs and Carols* fully maintains the very high standards of scholarship demonstrated in the editor's *Mediaeval Carols* (*Musica Britannica,* iv), his *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* and his *Music at the Court of Henry VIII* (*Musica Britannica,* xviii). It contains the unpublished songs and carols from the *Ritson Manuscript* (London, British Library, Additional MS 5665), a musical miscellany compiled over several decades from about 1470 onwards, and the complete contents of the *Fayrfax Book* (London, British Library, Additional MS 5465), a collection of songs and carols copied—almost certainly for use at court—in about 1500.

Composers represented include Robert Fayrfax, William Cornysh the younger, Gilbert Banastir and William Newark (all members of the royal household chapel under Henry VII) as well as John Browne, Richard Davy and Edmund Turges—a list which includes many of the foremost composers of late medieval England, who have hitherto been more familiar to us through the appearance of their church music in such publications as *The Eton Choirbook* (*Musica Britannica,* x-xii).

Musically this song repertory provides a fitting climax to Dr Stevens' labours in this particular field. As he himself writes: 'The Fayrfax Manuscript . . . contains . . . the finest music written to vernacular words which survives from pre-Reformation England.' I would go further and say that the greatest of these songs—such as Cornysh's setting of the Passion carol *Woefully arrayed* (no. 53 in the edition)—have a depth and intensity of expression and a sureness of grasp in large-scale construction, which, taken together, lie beyond the scope of any other settings of vernacular texts before those of Purcell.

The eloquence of *Woefully arrayed* and the other religious songs such as Browne's *Jesu, mercy, how may this be* (51) and the anonymous *Afraid, alas, and why so suddenly* (52) is admittedly not typical of the repertory as a whole. Many of the songs are love-songs, whose melancholy, highly formalized lyrics are, as in the chansons of Dufay, Ockeghem and Busnois, given deliberately neutral, non-evocative musical settings. Yet although the aesthetic approach may resemble that of these Franco-Flemish composers, there are only a few hints of continental influence in the musical idiom itself. These hints occur almost entirely in some songs from the *Ritson Manuscript*. For example, *Thou man, envired* (7) has an elegant superius over a tenor-contratenor duet which is only partially texted; stylistically the result is akin to the latest chansons of Dufay. A majority of the songs, whether in two, three or four voices, are written in a distinctively English style, whose basic features will be familiar to users of *Music at the Court of Henry VIII*. The upper voices are equal in melodic and rhythmic importance; sometimes they follow largely independent careers, but more often they are constantly related to each other by short snatches of imitation. In three- and four-part pieces the bottom voice tends to play a slightly more harmonic role, though it rarely degenerates into a mere prop. Words are set syllabically with melismata at the ends of many lines; sometimes the final melisma attains extraordinary length—that at the end of *Complain I may* (48) accounts for 13 out of 68 bars. A few songs, mostly from the *Ritson Manuscript,* are written in a rhythmically less independent, more 'chordal' and almost syllabic style. In their music and poetry, songs of this type, which include *Up I arose* (18) and the well-known *Pastime with good company* (12), are decidedly less ambitious than the other compositions. They are also rather more easy to sing, and they may

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represent a more domestic side of the court repertory, sung by the courtiers themselves, as opposed to the demanding 'professional' songs produced by—and in all probability sung by—paid members of the royal musical establishment.

Dr Stevens' editing sustains the high levels of accuracy and insight which one has come to expect from him, and this, together with careful proof-reading, has resulted in an edition as near to complete reliability as any which I have seen. In some compositions the original note values are quartered, while in others they are halved. This inconsistency, which is rather unusual in complete editions of manuscripts, has apparently been prompted by the desire to avoid a large incidence of semiquavers in the transcriptions. It is not particularly serious, although the user has to check the original values given on the prefatory staves in order to guard against forming a wrong impression of the tempo of the music. The presence of ligatures is shown in the usual way. Prefatory staves give the original clef and first note of each voice, but indications of vocal range, so useful to scholar and performer alike—are unfortunately not supplied. The song texts are not so much modernized as made consistent by the suppression of variant spellings. Punctuation is added where necessary. The textual commentary supplies all of the usual information and also includes glosses on words which have subsequently disappeared from the language.

Dr Stevens remarks on the unprecedented sensitivity shown by the composers in the *Fayrfax Book* to the rhythms and accentuations of the words which they set: '*The Fayrfax Manuscript* is the earliest source in which one finds the careful and observant copying of English speech-sounds.' In the songs from this manuscript the editor has been able to reproduce the original underlay with almost wholly satisfactory results. The Ritson songs are more problematic in this respect—the underlay being much better in some pieces than in others—but the editorial solutions are always musical and convincing. There are, however, one or two cases in which some editorial advice on performance would have been welcome. One common problem occurs in *Alas, it is I* (34), bars 11-14, where the top line has the last syllable of 'abused' below a minim C, followed by a crotchet rest and a short melisma with no underlay. What is the singer to do with the melisma? Should he repeat 'sed'? Should he move the 'd' from below C to the final note of the melisma? Should he supply a repetition of the whole word? Nobody would expect a definitive answer to questions like this, but it would be interesting to know what Dr Stevens himself does when performing the music.

The edition distinguishes between source accidentals and those supplied editorially. Dr Stevens' suggestions may be accepted with confidence. The only question which I would raise is what seems to be a slight inconsistency which occasionally arises in connection with the doubled leading note cadence. Sometimes, as at bars 9-10 of *Thou man, envired* (7), both the 3rd and the 7th receive an editorial sharp; in other places, as at bars 8-9 of *Absence of you* (4), only the 7th is sharpened: and yet the melodic and harmonic nature of the two passages is almost identical.

As usual with *Musica Britannica* editions the volume is handsomely produced. The layout is spacious—even in the Textual Commentary—and the printing is clear. *Early Tudor Songs and Carols* is a praiseworthy achievement—a fine example of expert but unobtrusive scholarship which makes available a rich repertory of song. He who encounters for the first time the stylized elegance of Fayrfax's *Somewhat musing* (44), the rollicking but subtly-wrought cross-rhythms of *Hoyda, hoyda, jolly rutterkin* (63) and the sombre grandeur of Browne's *Jesu, mercy, how may this be* (51) will hardly be disappointed.

NICHOLAS SANDON

Selected Airs for Four-Part Consort

JOHN JENKINS

selected from *Musica Britannica,* xxvi, transcribed and ed. by Andrew Ashbee

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The Flat Consort 'For my Cousin Kemble'

MATTHEW LOCKE

selected from *Musica Britannica,* xxxi, transcribed and ed. by Michael Tilmouth

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misnomer since the keyboard (particularly in the pieces for two trebles and two basses) has a fully independent part which cannot be omitted. Matthew Locke's Flat Consort is for treble, tenor and bass without keyboard.

The Jenkins parts (following the usual practice) have very few editorial additions. By contrast the Flat Consort is abundantly supplied with tempo indications, dynamics, and expression marks. The tempo suggestions for the fantasies of the Flat Consort such as 'moderately quick', 'fairly quick', 'fairly slow', 'flowingly', 'with steady movement', 'not too fast', and 'moderate' are evidently intended to help the player set a good all-purpose fantasia speed which can be slowed down or speeded up as required. The Courantes, it seems, can be performed in a variety of ways: 'flowingly', 'with easy movement', 'sturdily', 'sprightly' or 'steadily'. The editorial suggestions are not confined to the beginnings of movements. Many Italian and English terms are applied to the various themes of the sectional fantasies: 'express', 'giocoso', 'brisk but daintily', 'with vigour', 'with energy', 'nimbly', 'scherzando', 'brillante', and 'quick and sprightly'. Most viol players in my experience tend to ignore such editorial suggestions making them counter-productive. However, it would certainly be interesting to hear the effect of a bass viol playing an ascending semiquaver scale 'brillante' or a tricky jumping theme executed 'nimbly'.

On a practical note both sets of parts contain some rather difficult page turns in the middle of fast movements.

IAN D. WOODFIELD

The Choral Art: Choral Performance as a Guide to Music History
Ed. by Arthur Lief
Lawson-Gould/Schirmer/Roberton Publications, £1.50
There is a large and increasing market for anthologies of early music planned to meet the needs of a school or college choir with a director who does not have access to the scholarly editions. This one, reasonably priced and containing 24 pieces from the plainchant *Salve regina* to the Binchois *Files a marier* is good in that its selection is slanted towards the better pieces but is most unsatisfactory in its choice of sources: to print Machaut after the transcriptions in Johannes Wolf's pioneering *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation* (1904) when there are two infinitely superior later editions by Ludwig and Schrade or to reprint five pieces from works by the notoriously inaccurate Coussemaker (1852 and 1865) is to do positive damage, for it is basing a performance on an edition far worse than what most choirmasters would be able to find after only a couple of minutes' conversation with their nearest music librarian. Popularizing anthologies are extremely important at present, but they must be done on the basis of the best editions, not the worst. Of the pieces here, only five are based on editions that I would consider in any way satisfactory, and only two are based on the best available edition.

D.F.

Folk songs of Britain & Ireland
Ed. by Peter Kennedy
Music transcriptions & guitar chords by Raymond Parfrey
Cassell, 1975, £15
Subtitled 'A Guidebook to the living tradition of folk-singing' this important and comprehensive collection contains 360 folk songs from field recordings, sung in a variety of languages including Lowland Scots, Channel Islands, French and 'the various languages of the Travelling People'. Its editor, a well-known authority in his field, hopes its scope will break new ground. The music has guitar chords, transcribed texts with any necessary translations, comprehensive notes, bibliographies and indexes. It is handsomely produced, packed with fascinating observations and insights, is a compendium of personalities and social characteristics as much as music. East Anglia and Norfolk proved particularly rewarding in the UK, but it was the folk musicians of Donegal who made the strongest impression on this very experienced collector.

J.M.T.

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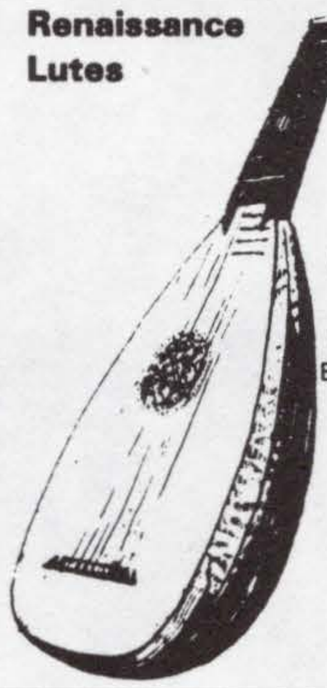

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Correspondence

Editorial practices

Why do editors of early music still seem to be in a conspiracy to keep us in ignorance of what is in the original sources? For example, in the editorial note to his 'Two Songs of Dufay' published with the October 1975 *Early Music*, David Fallows, in discussing the alternation between implied $\frac{3}{4}$ and $\frac{6}{8}$ rhythms, advises concentrating on finding our own phrasing. Yet the beams in the music as printed make it look as if the phrasing is already decided.[1] The regular barring, moreover, leads to the complication of dividing notes across bar lines and then tying them together. Neither of these features would have been in the original; but this is not acknowledged.

Two features of the contemporary notation might have helped towards phrasing. The point used in triple time to avoid ambiguity in certain places is practically the equivalent of the modern bar-line. Whether it stands where the modern editor puts one of his regular bar-lines or in 'mid bar', it is usually suppressed; but in the latter case it could point to a significant difference in phrasing from the use of coloration.[2] Similarly ligatures frequently link the first two of a group of three notes to be taken together. It is disappointing, therefore, to find this *Early Music* edition stating baldly 'Ligatures are not indicated'. I have the suspicion that the manuscripts to which Fallows refers may all the time contain just the guidance that he implies we lack.

It may be argued that some of these notational conventions were not used consistently and that in any case their significance and their relevance to performance today is still subject to debate. This is all the more reason for presenting all the information to the musician so that he can, through his practical experience, form his own opinion on these questions. The editor's principal task, in music no less than in literature, must be, in whatever way he transcribes it to make it more readily usable at the time, to present all the information in the sources, so that it is clear what is in the original and what is contributed by the editor. Thus from every edition it should be possible to reconstruct the original from which the editor is working.[3]

How we envy the lutenists who have found that often the best edition is the facsimile, so that they can perform without the intervention of an editor!

JOHN GOODACRE, *The White House, Ashby Parva, Lutterworth, Leicestershire.*

David Fallows replies:

1. Correct. The exhortation for each to find his own best phrasing was intended to draw attention to the clearly implied $\frac{6}{8}$ figures beginning at irrational points in the bar. My beaming was to help him find it.

2. Not quite. The *punctum divisionis* never appears in the middle of a perfection in *tempus perfectum cum prolatione minore*. It is in any case used to clarify note values, not phrasing.

3. I disagree. My own 'working kit' for a transcription such as this includes (i) a facsimile of the page or pages concerned, annotated—from comparison with the original, if possible—to note the presence of worm-holes, erasures, changes in colour, etc, and (ii) a diplomatic transcription with all the points, line ends, clef changes, erasures (again), original underlay, etc, reproduced as accurately as possible. Each stage inevitably misses details and neither would be sufficient to reconstruct the original fully.

There is no 'conspiracy', so far as I am aware; it is just that the editorial note of an edition in the *Early Music Series* is not the place to rehearse again the discussions that have led to current practice.

Why are lute pegboxes bent back?

Lutanists are often asked why the pegbox is set back at such a sharp angle. We believe that a remark by Ganassi in the first chapter of *Regula Rubertina* (1542), has some bearing on this question. He stated that viols are best played when held nearly vertically, and that holding them cross-wise, as some people did, was inferior since it took up twice as much space. We can imagine that this space factor would have been most relevant when the company was huddled around a fire in wintry weather.

A 1562 illustration of viols played cross-wise (held rather like a lute) is Veronese's famous *The Marriage at Cana*. The viols shown there could well have been constructed so as to minimize the antisocial space-taking effect of this playing position since their pegboxes are bent back at a remarkably lute-like angle.

DJILDA ABBOTT and EPH SEGERMAN, *N.R.I., 18 Moorfield Rd., Manchester.*

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I would be very interested to hear from anyone who has had experience in using medieval or renaissance music vocally in elementary classrooms, especially in accordance with the Kodaly concept.

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On 9 November the Department of Musical Instrument Technology of the London College of Furniture presented four harpsichords made by students and played upon by Colin Tilney for an invited audience. In his introduction to the programme the head of the Department, Philip Shirtcliff, laid particular stress on the need of students for critical comment and contact with experienced musicians so that they would not be working in isolation and in a completely theoretical way. Even more important was the opportunity for self-criticism offered by

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the chance to hear one's own instrument played by a master musician. The keyboard section of the Department is under the full-time direction of David Law, who was associated for some years with Michael Thomas, who formerly taught at the College part-time, as have Mark Stevenson and others.

Each of the four instruments demonstrated was derived from a historical prototype. Gill Pike's Italian harpsichord was somewhat freely adapted from 17th-century models but proved nonetheless to be quite typical in sound with all the flexibility of the genuine article. Tim Hamilton's wing spinet, very loosely based on a late 17th-century English instrument, would doubtless be heard to greater advantage in a small room rather than a large auditorium. The same can also be said of John Rawson's recreation of the 1620 Ruckers virginal at quint pitch in the Smithsonian Institution. But these modest, sweet-toned instruments performed remarkably well in spite of the unfavourable acoustic. Mr Rawson was also the maker of the final instrument in the programme, derived from the famous 1769 Pascal Taskin harpsichord in the Russell Collection. By now almost every harpsichord builder in the world has offered us his version of this renowned model. It is likely to Mr Rawson's credit that his Taskin model has a distinctive sound of its own, decidedly different from the original as it is today and rather unlike the general run of modern reproductions, too. All in all, one felt that the instruments showed great promise. One might well quibble over details of design and questions of choice of materials, even the manner of voicing and regulation, but there is no doubt that the Department is well launched towards its declared aim of providing 'a training ground for a new generation of instrument makers'.

Colin Tilney's comments about the music and the instruments were very helpful in giving point and unity to the programme. The ease with which he transferred from one unfamiliar instrument to another was especially impressive.

HOWARD SCHOTT

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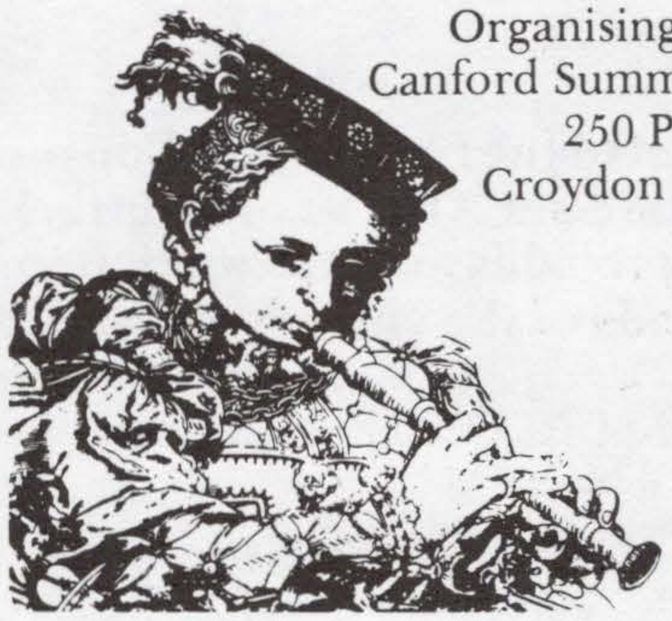

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DSLO 516 G Oct p616

Symphonies: No. 1 in E flat; No. 2 in B flat; No. 3 in E flat; No. 4 in B flat; No. 5 in E flat; No. 6 in B flat
Camden Wind Ensemble
GSGC 15029 G Aug p278

Symphonies: B flat, Op. 18, no. 2; D, Op. 18, no. 4; D, Op. 18, no. 6
Telemann
Don Quichotte-Suite
Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra/Münchinger
SXL 6755 G Oct p577, HFN Oct p163

BACH, J. S.
Arias
Janet Baker (mezzo-soprano), Academy of St Martin-in-the-Fields/Marriner
ASD 3265 G Oct p633

Chromatic fantasy and fugue in D minor, BWV 903; Italian concerto in F, BWV 971; Toccata in D, BWV 912; French suite no. 5 in G, BWV 816
George Malcolm (harpsichord)
ECS 788(R) G Oct p622

Concerto in D minor for two violins and string orchestra. BWV 1043; Flute sonata in A minor, BWV 1013; Overture in B minor, for flute and string orchestra, BWV 1067
Kamu, Segerstam (violins), Von Bahr (flute), Nationalmusei Kammarorchester/Genetay
BIS LP 21 HFN Sep p117

English suites, BWV 806-11
Huguette Dreyfus (harpsichord)
2533 164-6(3) G Sep p443, HFN Sep p117

Fantasia and fugue in G minor, BWV 542; Fugue in G, BWV 577; Prelude and fugue in B minor, BWV 544; Toccata and fugue in F, BWV 540; Concerto no. 2 in A minor, BWV 593
Nicolas Kynaston (organ)
CFP 40241 HFN Aug p75

French suites Nos. 1-6, BWV 812-7
Kenneth Gilbert (harpsichord)
HMU 438(2) G Aug p318

Organ works. Vol. 10: The Orgelbüchlein, BWV 599-632, 634, 633, 635-644
Michel Chapuis (organ)
EK 635085 HFN Oct p163

Toccatas for clavier in D, BWV 912; D minor, BWV 913; C minor, BWV 911; G minor, BWV 915; E minor, BWV 914
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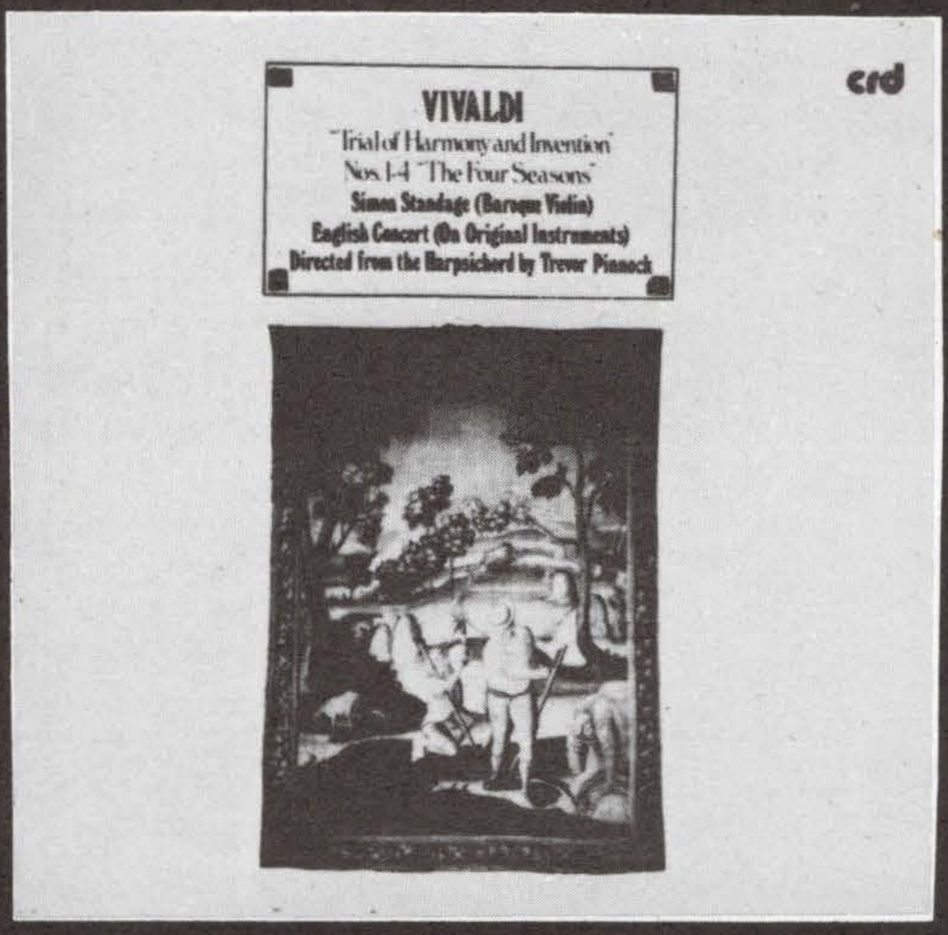
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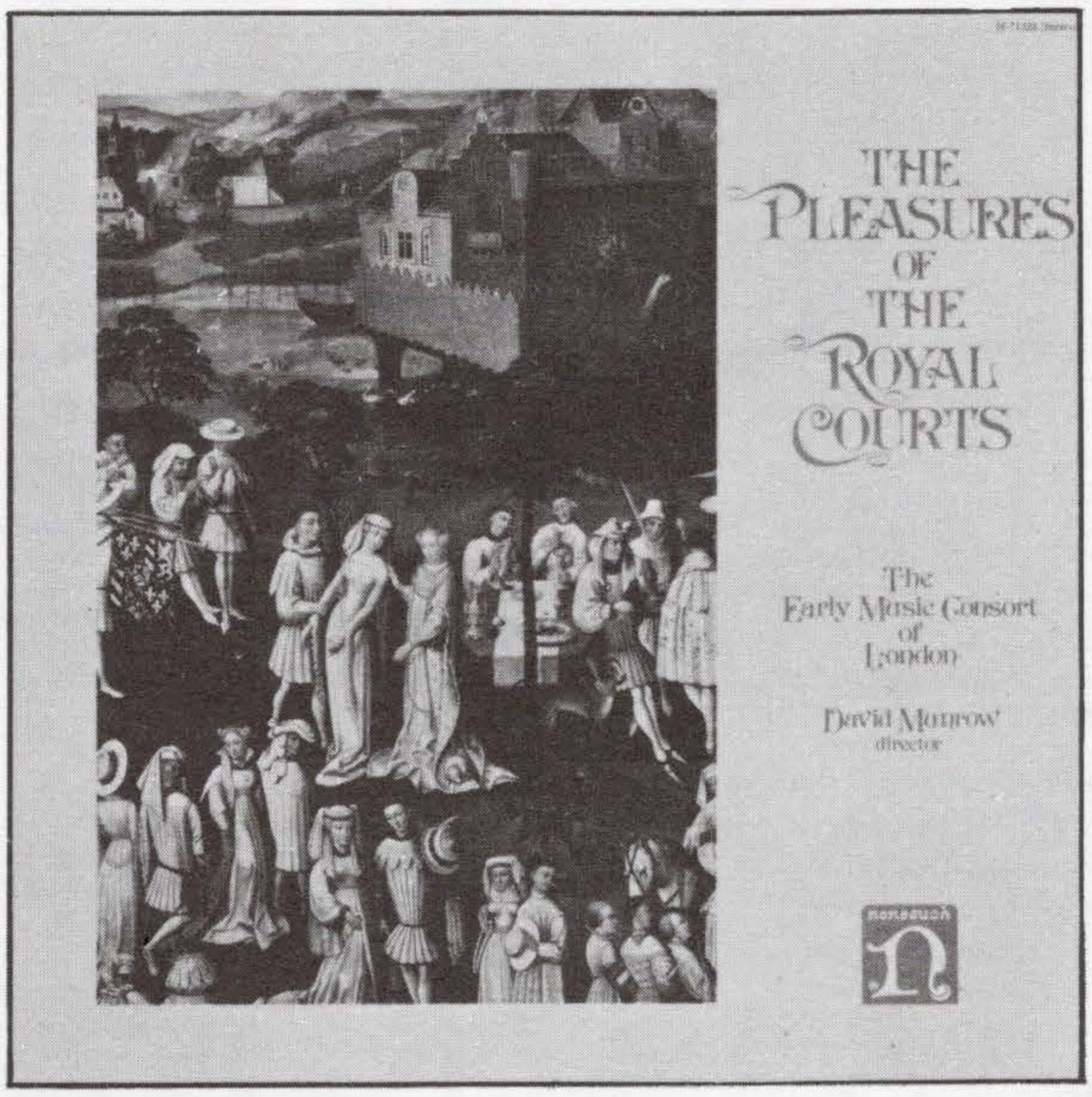

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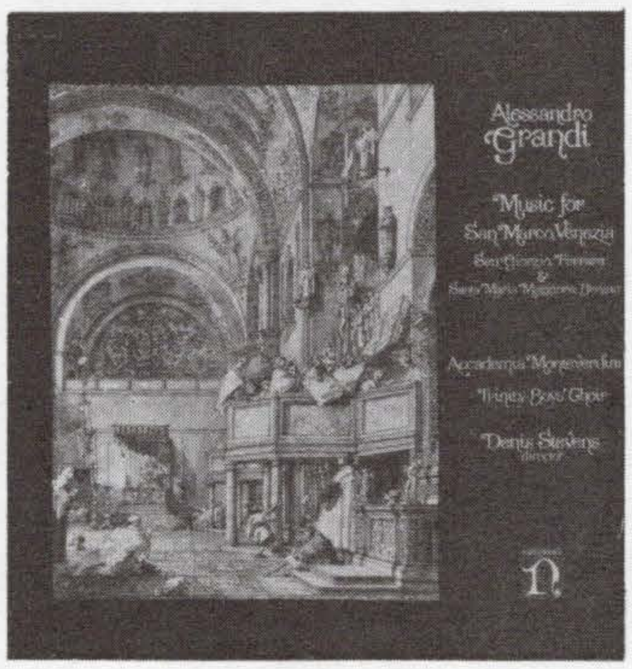

Alessandro Grandi
Music For
San Marco, Venezia
Accademia Monteverdiana
Trinity Boys' Choir
Denis Stevens, director
(Nonesuch H 71329)

Eight sacred motets by this little-known master of the Italian Baroque are presented here for the first time on record. Grandi worked closely with Monteverdi, and his prowess as singer and composer led to his appointment as assistant to the great maestro di cappella in 1620. In the 17th century, his music was admired throughout the length and breadth of Europe; at the peak of his career, however, Grandi fell victim to an outbreak of the plague.

J C Bach
Sinfonia in G minor
Michael Haydn
Symphony in G
W A Mozart
Cassation in D
The Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra
Dennis Russell Davies, conductor
(Nonesuch H 71323)

Johann Christian Bach was a notable influence on the young Mozart who, in turn, was a colleague of Michael Haydn (younger brother of Joseph Haydn). The historical association is pointedly reflected in the Michael Haydn symphony, which has a 20-measure introductory movement by Mozart; the work was once believed to be Mozart's Symphony no. 37. Mozart's Cassation in D, K. 62a, was a product of the composer's 14th year. Inclusion of the opening Marche, K.62 (which came to light only in the mid-1960s) completes the 9-movement Cassation. The Saint Paul Chamber Orchestra present the Cassation in its entirety for the first time on record.

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The 1976 Berlin Bachfest

This year's Deutsches Bachfest in Berlin presented several interesting early music features. An exhibition, running throughout the Festival, commemorated Bach's celebrated visit to Frederick the Great at Potsdam, and associated with it were daily recitals on early instruments, several from the Emperor's collection, at the Musical Instruments Museum. The themes of the Festival were the development of canticle and liturgical text settings and the development of polyphonic choral writing, and this involved a considerable representation of early music in the programme. Earliest of all was a reconstruction by the Collegium Musicum Judaicum of Amsterdam of *Moses' Song of Praise*—did the Children of Israel really have a cello with them when they crossed the Red Sea? Throughout the Festival I was struck by an apparent lack of acquaintance with the repertoire or performance techniques of early music, as for instance in Couperin's *Première leçon de Ténèbres* when the young tenor, Peter Maus, sung at enormous speed, without the ornaments, and with the lovely *vocalises* of the Hebrew letters taken by the gamba player. Sharing that recital programme, however, was the young soprano, Christiane Hampe, who had dazzled the audience at the opening concert with the sheer beauty of her voice, and its extraordinary flexibility, in the Cantata 51 *Jauchzet*. Now she repeated the effect with sensitive and exciting singing in 17th-century solo pieces.

The Singakademie (with whom Mendelssohn gave his famous 1824 performance of the *St Matthew Passion*) introduced me to Bach's transcription of Palestrina's *Missa sine nomine*, but their muddy tone (eighty voices), the use of modern brass in place of Bach's cornetti and trombones, and the absence of the violone and of harpsichord continuo deprived the work of any conviction either as Bach or as Palestrina. The RIAS Kammerchor provided more conventional festival fare in the form of a concert of polyphonic choral works by Gabrieli, Schütz and Monteverdi, Zelter, Mendelssohn and Bach which all sounded the same. The Mendelssohn was beautifully sung, but for the early pieces, though they were accurate and well-paced, the warm sound of this choir seemed out of place after the kind of performances we are used to in this country. At the Deller Consort recital it was obviously the first time that the Berlin audience had ever heard Perotin or Machaut, or even Josquin and Ockeghem, and the prolonged and insistent applause seemed to astonish the singers as much as me. Even today, the countertenor also seems to take the Berlin audience by surprise. Kevin Smith was in excellent voice early one morning as soloist with the Staats und Domchor, which, with its boy altos, was one of the most satisfying choirs I heard. The best, however, was undoubtedly the Hamburg Monteverdi Choir whose *St Matthew Passion* under Jürgens was superb—it is one of several concerts which will be heard on the BBC later, but it alone was worth seventeen hours' driving to hear in the original performance.

M. PROCTER

Pioneering in Pamparato

A remarkable Italian summer school of early music has been conducted during the second half of July in recent years in the Alpine village of Pamparato by the Istituto Musicale Stanislao Cordero. The size of the village (population 786), accessible only by automobile, and the distinction and dedication of the faculty have made the Institute a haven of intensive study for some of the most accomplished students of the conservatories of Milan and Parma as well as serious amateurs and young professionals from elsewhere in Italy and neighbouring countries. One or two students from the USA and Japan have provided a trace of intercontinental breadth, but the prevailing atmosphere is of an Italian inquest into music of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque eras, and in this respect the Institute has taken a pioneering role. There has been a lively collaboration of scholars and performers. Pierluigi Petrobelli's course in musicology for performers offers guidance in locating, using and evaluating primary sources of repertory. Fausto Razzi's madrigal course is devoted equally to the rendering of Petrarch's texts and Monteverdi's settings of them. Emilia Fadini, professor of harpsichord at Milan, has so energetically promoted classes in renaissance and baroque dance, organology, and historical keyboard temperaments that one might not suspect her of virtuosity. Apart from the resources of the village—scenery, cuisine, an 18th-century palace for classes and practice rooms and an 18th-century oratorio (with a contemporaneous organ), for concerts—one senses that the facilities of the Institute are obtained rather by ingenuity than by lavish fiscal underpinnings. It is very much to be hoped that the enterprise at Pamparato will survive the recent vicissitudes of the lira and continue to flourish.

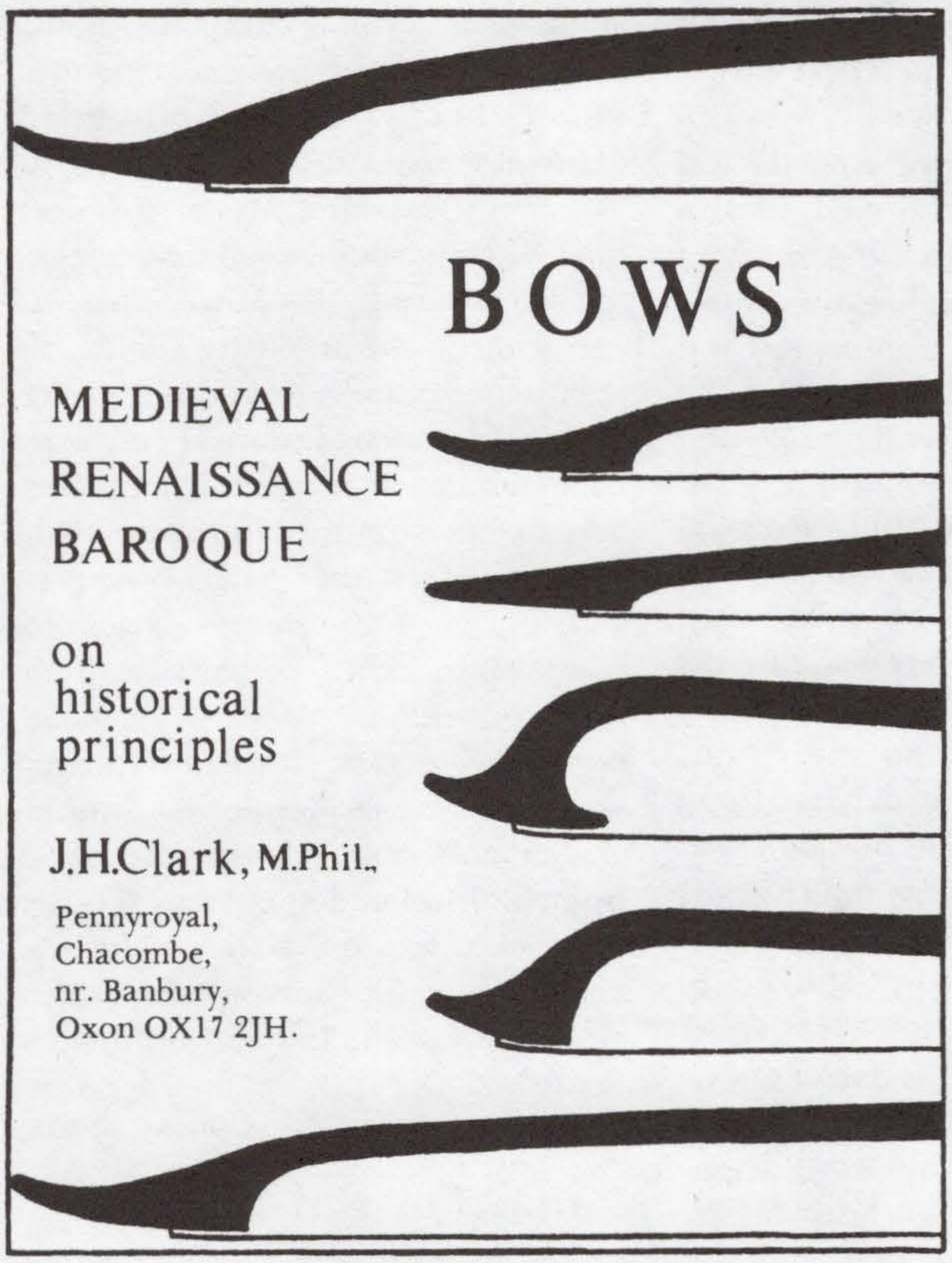
MARK LINDLEY

Zadar Festival 1976

The Zadar Festival, properly called 'the Sixteenth Music Evenings in St Donat's' consists of a fortnight of varied music making, the second week of which is entirely given over to programmes of Medieval and Renaissance music. The 1976 theme, 'Reformation and Counter-reformation', though appealing in principle, was not so successful in practice, as most of the ensembles either ignored it altogether, or found it hard to design programmes around it.

In the opening concert, the Camerata Hungarica, presented an extremely varied pot-pourri of pieces, but with no discernible theme or plan. Indeed, looking at their programme, it was hard to imagine that it could all be contained in the one concert. This criticism could fairly be levelled at all ensembles. Nevertheless, it was interesting to hear some of the vast repertoire of early Hungarian music, and we in the West eagerly await the publication of more of this.

The Gallus Octet from Slovenia, an all-male vocal ensemble next presented a well balanced programme of music by Palestrina and Lassus, Jannequin and



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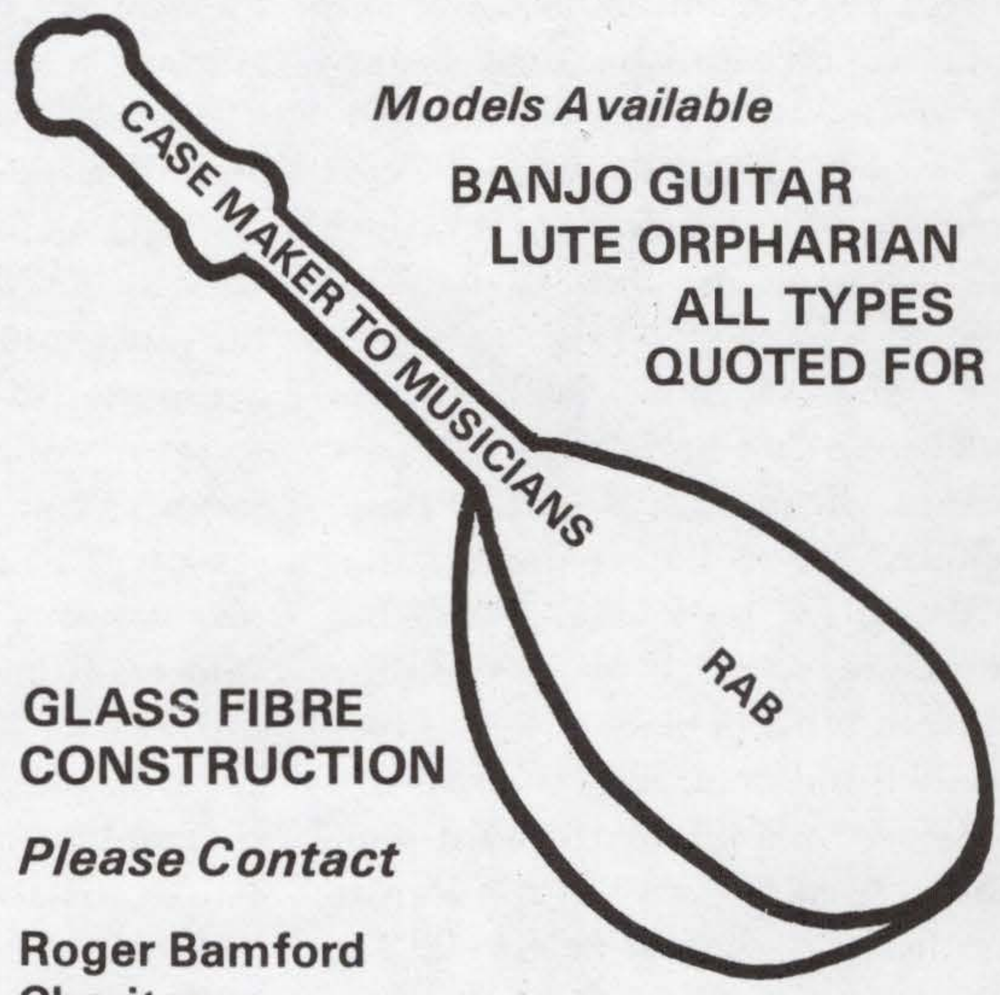

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Certon, the second half being devoted to the music of Jacobus Gallus.

The third concert, given by the Praetorius Consort of London, directed by Christopher Ball, in their first half attempted to reflect something of the Festival theme by tracing the secular origins of several of the most well known Lutheran Chorales. They ended with their usual rather rumbustious approach to renaissance dance music, this time a new realization of Arbeau's *Orchésographie*.

The following evening the 'local' group — Universitas Studiorum Zagrabiènsis—devised a programme around the popular Susato dances in memory of David Munrow. There was much I am sure that he would have admired both in their playing and in their scholarship, but I feel that as a general rule these Central European groups have yet to catch the infectious enthusiasm and relish which was so much a hallmark of his style.

On the Saturday evening the French group *Les Menestriers* provided a welcome contrast. Their relaxed but totally individual style is quite unique. Their performance of medieval monodies and estampies takes a fresh and rigorous look at very early performing practices, and the result is a feeling of spontaneous improvisation. The music goes on and on, like the best sort of jazz, with players and audience becoming more and more excited. By contrast, their most formal renaissance music was disappointing, and made us long for more estampies. We were later rewarded with another exciting sequence to end the programme.

The amateur ensemble 'Syntagma Musicum' from Zagreb gave an entertaining serenade and the week's festivities ended with what for many people was the highlight, the concert by the Pro Cantiones Antiqua, male vocal ensemble from Great Britain. This group of soloists of international calibre who, amazingly, achieve a perfect blend in their ensemble deeply moved their audience, perhaps most of all with a performance of Byrd's Mass for three voices.

It is quite a marathon, for audiences and organizers alike, to present seven consecutive concerts of early music in a seaside resort in Yugoslavia. Audiences, mostly around a couple of hundred, were enthusiastic, and not particularly specialized. Inevitably, to bring off such a series presented difficulties and much opposition had to be overcome. Nevertheless one must congratulate Branko Polić and his colleagues for their great idealism, determination and imagination in continuing to pioneer this unique and thoroughly worthwhile event.

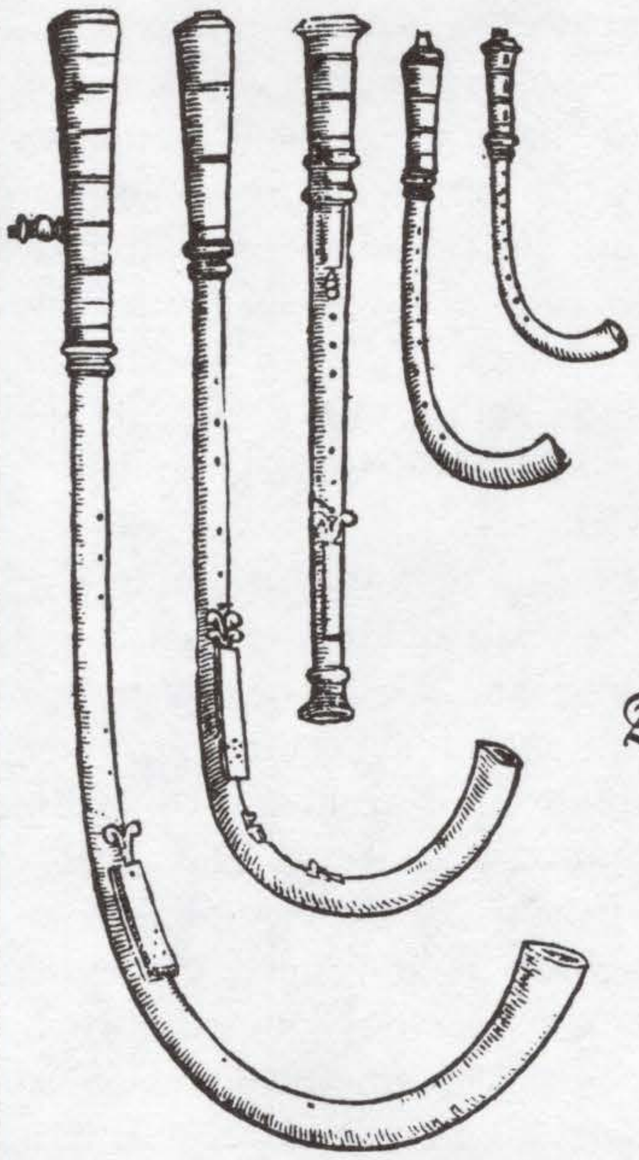
CLIFFORD ARMSTRONG

The second International Forum des Clavecins

The second 'International Forum des Clavecins' took place in Paris during the first two weeks in September as part of the Festival Estival de Paris. The first forum in 1974 had not been a success, partly due to a poor location, but mostly because it took place directly after the Bruges Harpsichord Week, which is usually enough to satiate the most ardent harpsichord enthusiast for at least a month. This time the forum was held at the Maison de la Radio and the facilities were splendid ranging from excellent subsidized food in the building's canteen to immaculate tuning to any chosen temperament. In fact tuning and temperaments became somewhat of a preoccupation during the ten days, and audiences were given the chance to savour the very real delights and differences between the various baroque systems. This was largely due to the enthusiasm and hard work of the Canadian organist Pierre Asselin, who was responsible for over eighty tunings in the ten days ranging from straightforward meantone to a variant of Werkmeister III (and transposed from C to G).

The forum took the form of lectures, lecture recitals and master classes in the mornings and afternoons, with concerts and recitals in the evenings, and an exhibition of instruments by leading contemporary makers. This sort of event benefits by not being linked to a competition as at Bruges. There were not the sixty nervous competitors fighting for practice time in the exhibition halls, and all playing the same Scarlatti sonata one against the other, and students were able to play and compare instruments in a more relaxed atmosphere. Most of the exhibitors were delighted with the excellent organization (Bruges organizers please note), with even a bevy of receptionists to take phone calls and messages, and generally to fetch and carry.

Crumhorns



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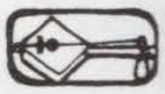

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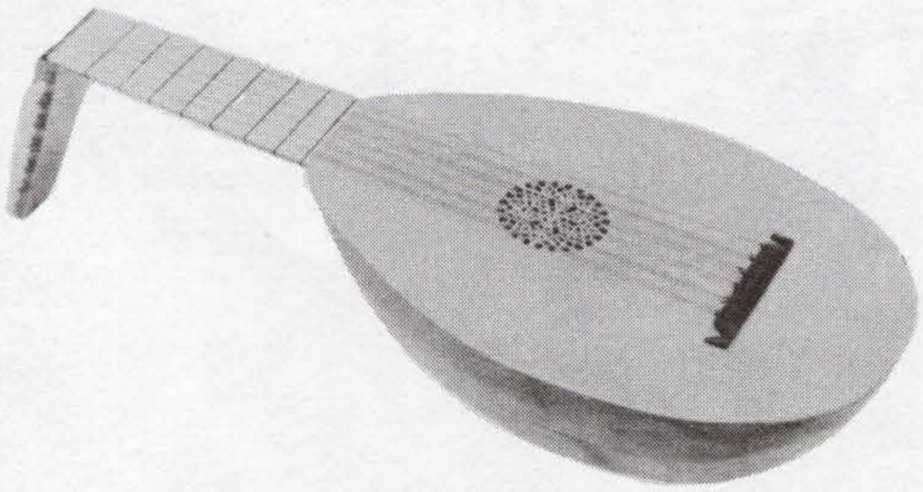

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The evening concerts were excellent and varied, ranging from a performance of the Bach triple harpsichord concertos on three antique instruments by Tagliavini, Scrizzi and Dreyfus to recitals by Le Gaillard, Curtis, Verlay, Jaccottet and Gilbert. The only (unofficial) competition was between the makers, as the performers could choose any of the instruments on display on which to give their recitals. Y. le Gaillard used his customary Schutze. Blandine Verlay used a Stevenson Nicolas Blanchet and a Tournay clavicithyrium. Alan Curtis used a Dowd for his excellent Goldberg variations, disturbed only by a stray cat with operatic ambitions. Christine Jaccottet used an antique Ruckers and a Stevenson muselar for her fine recital of Sweelinck and the English virginalists. Instruments by Mark Stevenson were also in demand for lecture recitals by Ruth Dyson, Jane Clark and William Christie (with a Dowd for his lecture on the repertoire for two hapsichords). Kenneth Gilbert's master classes alternated between a Dowd François Blanchet and a Stevenson Nicolas Blanchet. The final night recital by Kenneth Gilbert was on his own Bedard instrument.

Thus were the makers' honours disposed. Every event was recorded as part of the contract with ORTF and we hope that some of them will find their way on to Radio 3. As for the lectures, these are to be published in the New Year and to whet the appetites of interested parties, there were important contributions from William Dowd, Anton Kelner, Johannes Carda, Sheridan Germann and others, as well as those mentioned above.

FROM OUR CORRESPONDENT

Correction

In Ralph Kirkpatrick's article 'C. P. E. Bach's *Versuch* reconsidered' in our last issue, two unauthorized editorial changes were made. In line 16 'badly mauled' should have read 'bowdlerized' and in line 19 'rather infelicitous' should have read 'highly infelicitous'. We apologize for these changes.

Conferences: Wolfenbüttel and Oxford

Two conferences of at least indirect interest to all readers of *Early Music* have been held during the summer. Both may seem at first sight to have been concerned with the details of scholarship, but both have turned out to be involved with the relationship of scholarship to live music, by implication at least, and both included papers that should have direct bearing on performance practice.

The first, at Wolfenbüttel, was concerned with patterns of transmission of music of the Josquin generation. This was a distinguished gathering, to which sixteen scholars had been invited from Europe and America. In various ways all of them were concerned with the sources of this music—some attacking the problem of the nature and interrelationships of renaissance sources, and others looking at the reasons behind the many different versions of the same music that survive in these sources.

On the first side, there were some interesting reports. Willem Elders and Martin Staehelin both reported on new manuscripts that they had uncovered, from later in the century, but related to the period; Herbert Kellman produced a new list of the manuscripts that he believes were copied by Netherlands court scribes between the 1490s and the 1530s, an impressive collection of music in beautiful manuscripts (including the Ms. Royal 8.G.VII of the British Library); Joshua Rifkin placed one of the large German choirbooks in its context; and Martin Just showed the links between several of the major German sources of the 16th century. These papers were principally concerned with placing sources—showing where they were copied, who they were to be used by or presented to, and perhaps where the music may have come from. In this way, the speakers were drawing a clearer picture of the way music was circulated in renaissance Europe.

The second side to the discussions was centred on the versions in which this music spread, and this attracted some most interesting contributions. Howard Mayer Brown, in particular, attacked the problem of the rôle of the scribe, showing just how the musical variations in one chansonnier were probably the result of the copyist's own preferences in performance: similar work was at the root of papers by Klaus Hortschansky and Winfried Kirsch: Martin Picker demonstrated that the early printers produced readings that were quite different, suggesting that their contacts were with different musical circles: Thomas Noblitt followed this up further: and Stanley Boorman outlined methods for detecting what a scribe might have chosen to change. All these papers were clearly aimed at one of two objectives, either attempting to get back to a version of the music that was nearer to that of the composer, or else demonstrating something of local preferences for performance. The discussions that arose from these papers frequently led to new thinking about the question of authenticity.

The second conference was the latest in the British series for Medieval and Renaissance musical scholars, held at Oxford under the expert and unobtrusive organization of John and Janet Caldwell. This, of course, covered a much wider spectrum of music, from the 8th century to the 17th, and attracted some sixty participants. Again, some papers were concerned with performance, among them some of the most important: Roger Bowers presented very clear archival and musical evidence about pitch in the 15th century. He showed that no boys (and probably no men with real bass voices) were employed in England in the early years of the century, and that many pieces must therefore be transposed if they are to lie in the range of the tenors and baritones that were available. In addition, the evidence demonstrated that the increased range of later music, particularly that of the Eton Choir Book, matched the increasing use of basses and, later, boys in the principal choral foundations. David Chadd related some aspects of English pre-Conquest archi-

tecture to the performance of chant as described in continental sources, while John Stevens argued persuasively that the surviving repertoire of the earliest English secular songs has a monastic background. Some other papers were also concerned with English music: David Hiley on the last fascicle of W_1; Reinhard Strohm producing a few more pages of the Lucca manuscript, which he related to the music being performed in Bruges *c*1468, a repertoire that included English compositions; and Susan Rankin announced some new English 15th-century polyphony as well as advancing our knowledge of performance and composition practice. There were papers on continental music, as well, among them David Fallows' on a possible reason for composing a chanson and Iain Fenlon's revealing new early madrigal sources. One of the furthest removed from English music was the discussion by David Wulstan of connections between early Spanish songs and Arabic poetry. His Clerkes of Oxenford followed this with an entertaining concert of the Spanish repertoire, which in itself raised many questions about performance.

It might seem that such a conference was more concerned with the minutiae of research than the other: in one sense, that is true, for many of the papers tackled problems that had little immediate bearing on the way the music would be performed. However, the major achievement of this meeting was that it showed the extent to which younger scholars are coming to grips with the more sophisticated aspects of musicology—source study, archival work, for instance—without losing sight of the traditional goals of informing performance and advancing historical knowledge. The clearest example of this was the paper of Roger Bowers, based on painstaking work in archives but producing direct comments on performance. Few of the other papers had so clear an immediate result, but many pointed towards implications for all thinking performers. I very much hope that some way will be found of publishing several of the papers, and of persuading performers that they are worth reading.

STANLEY BOORMAN

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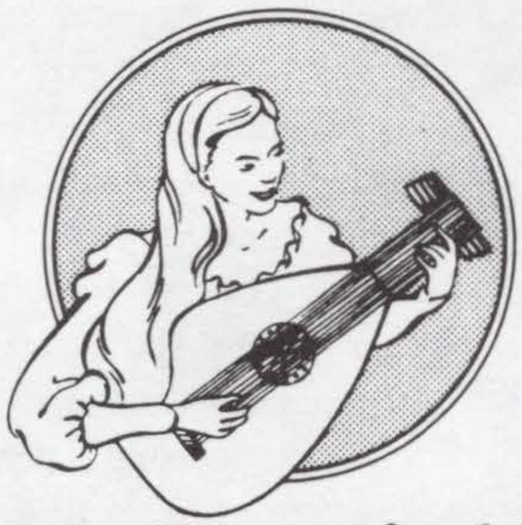
Advertisements for the April 1977 issue are required by 1st February.



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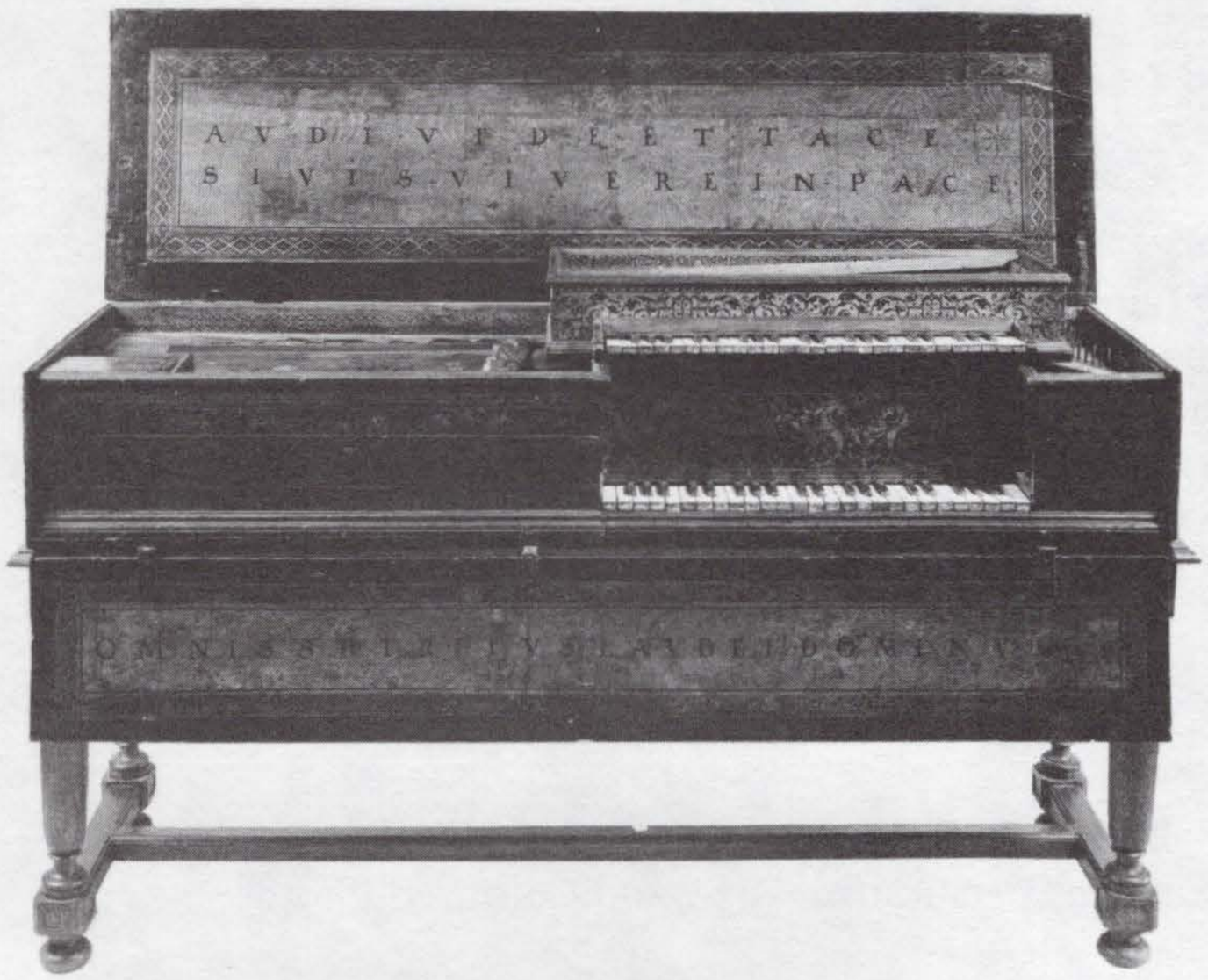
Saleroom reports

GRAHAM WELLS

A Dutch chamber organ by T. Strümphler, Amsterdam 1792



Double virginals by Hans Ruckers the Younger, Antwerp 1623

The change in the title of this column has been brought about by the fact that the two major sales during the period covered took place in New York. There were, of course, sales in London as well—two at Phillips and one at Sotheby's—but they were relatively minor events, at least by comparison with those which took place in New York.

Sotheby's were beaten by a week in their attempt to hold the first major sale of musical instruments in America: the first place went to the Tepper Galleries, a smaller New York saleroom, whose sale on 22 October contained just over two hundred lots, mostly violins and bows. Unfortunately, I was unable to go to New York in time to attend this sale so I have had to rely on the catalogue and the information given to me by a colleague for my assessment. It was apparent from both this and the Sotheby's sale a week later that, with few exceptions, prices on the other side of the Atlantic are not very different from those one would expect in London. Bow prices seemed somewhat higher, a particular one being the $6,000 (£3,797)* paid for a violin bow by the Russian bowmaker Nicholas Kittel, but keyboard prices seemed if anything a little lower. I regret not having seen the Christopher Ganer square piano of 1779 which sold for $1,100 (£692).

The Sotheby's sale on 29 October, which took place amidst a hail of publicity, received even more when it seemed possible that one-third of the sale might have to be withdrawn when the Attorney-General of the State of Illinois applied for an injunction to prevent the sale of the Harding Collection from Chicago. This occurred on the afternoon before the sale itself. The gallery, however, decided that they would nevertheless accept offers to purchase on the lots in question, and there was a happy ending for the prospective purchasers when it was announced during the sale that the injunction had been lifted.

The Harding Collection certainly

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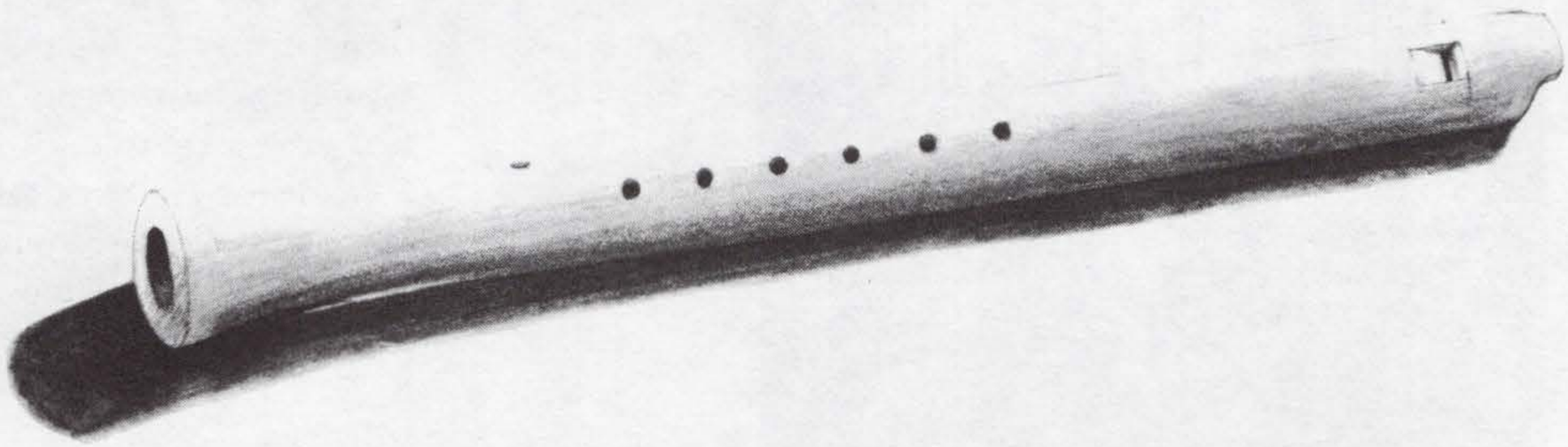

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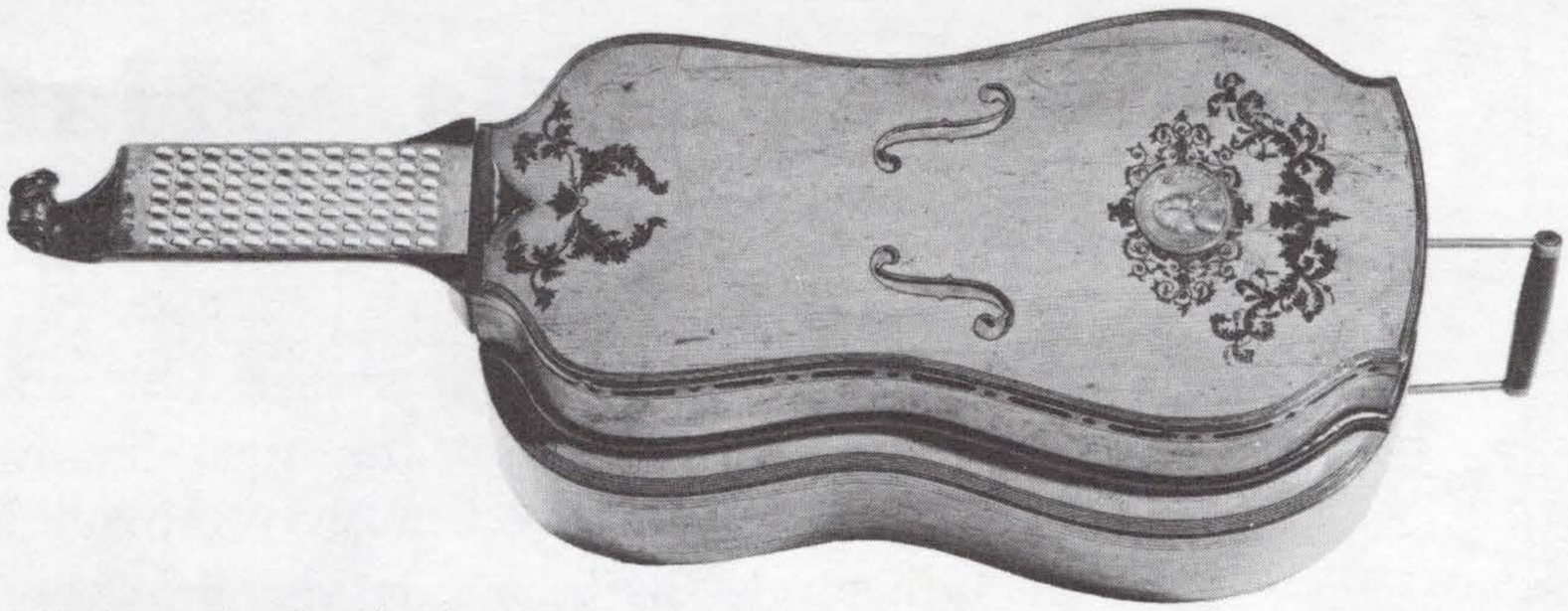
contained a varied assortment of instruments from a set of panpipes made from bamboo at $40 (£25), to the instrument that undoubtedly took pride of place outside the violin section: the double virginals by Hans Ruckers the Younger dated 1623, one of six such instruments by the Ruckers family known to exist and the only one that could ever (and now *will* ever) come onto the market, as the others are in museums around the world. Its rarity was certainly reflected in the price, which was $65,000 (£41,139). Of the fifty-five other instruments in the Collection, thirty-two were also keyboard instruments, some extremely desirable such as a small Dutch chamber organ by T. Strumphler of Amsterdam dated 1792 ($4,500, £2,850). Others had been 'got at' by the small group of unscrupulous dealers who sold instruments to collectors in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. One at least, a clavichord ($300, £189) signed 'Ioannes Ferrini fecit Anno 1751', certainly seems to appear in the 1893 catalogue of the notorious Leopoldo Franciolini.

Apart from the keyboard instruments there were a number of unusual pieces, in particular a variety of cécilium, built in the style of a harp instead of the more usual cello form ($500, £314). It would appear to have been an incredibly difficult instrument to play. There was also a melaphone ($650, £408), a near relative of the cécilium.

One keyboard instrument not in the Harding Collection was a harpsichord by Trute and Wiedberg of Philadelphia dated 1794. In point of fact only the case had survived, as the instrument had been turned into a piano and in 1952 John Challis turned it back into a two-manual harpsichord. Nevertheless, it realized $15,000 (£9,748), virtually the same price as the old auction record for a keyboard instrument set in 1969 by a Ruckers harpsichord—for what that is worth in these days of inflation!

This sale also contained two Stradivari violins, both of them from his early period. They were the 'Mackenzie' of 1685 ($80,000, £50,632)



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Pietro Aron, Thoscanello de la Musica, Venice 1523

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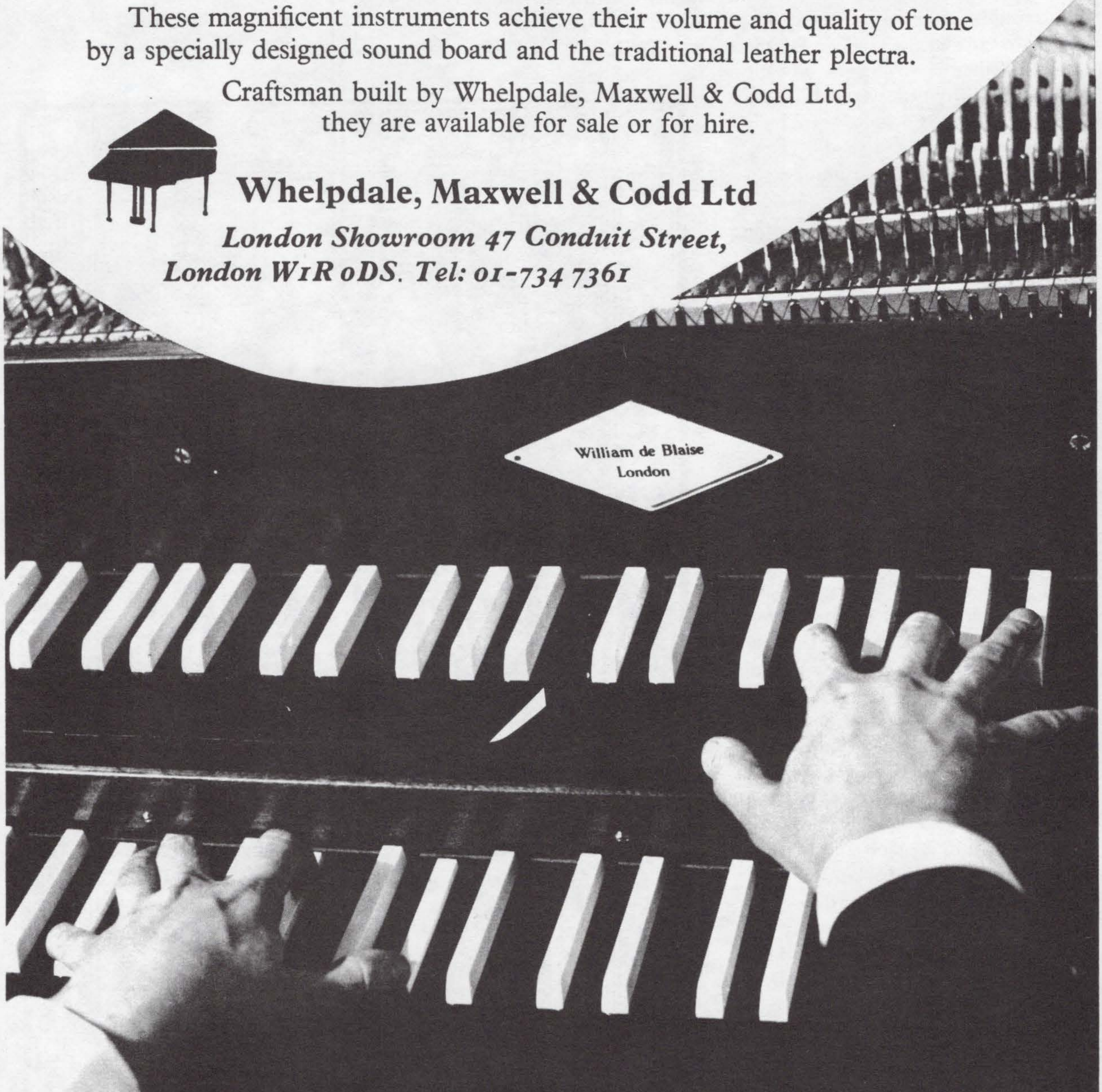

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and the 'Prince Uchtomsky' ($60,000, £37,975).

To round off the American musical instrument auction scene, I cannot resist recording the amazing price achieved by an inlaid and ormulu-mounted, late 19th-century grand piano by Erard at Sotheby's Los Angeles saleroom: $35,000 (£21,656).

Finally to return to London, the Sotheby's sale of Music Books and Manuscripts on 9 November contained a number of items of particular interest to specialists in early music. Amongst the three most notable were a manuscript of tablature for the cittern compiled by Margaretha Ölgaard von Alfelt in 1736 (£770), an autograph manuscript of Acts II and III of the opera *Eliza* by Thomas Arne dated 1743 (£1,980), and a first edition of *Thoscanella de la Musica* by Pietro Aron, 1523 (£3,300).

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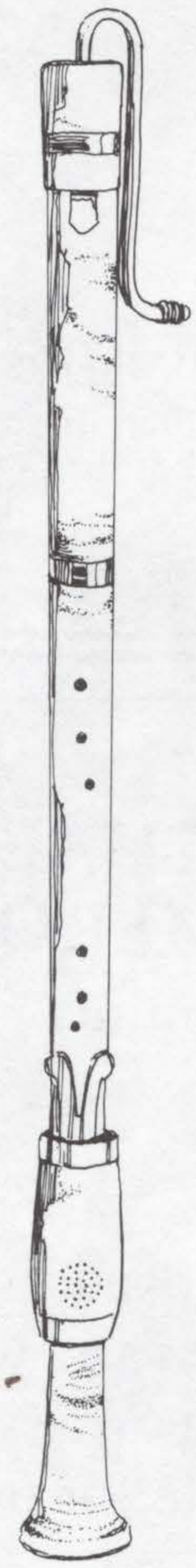

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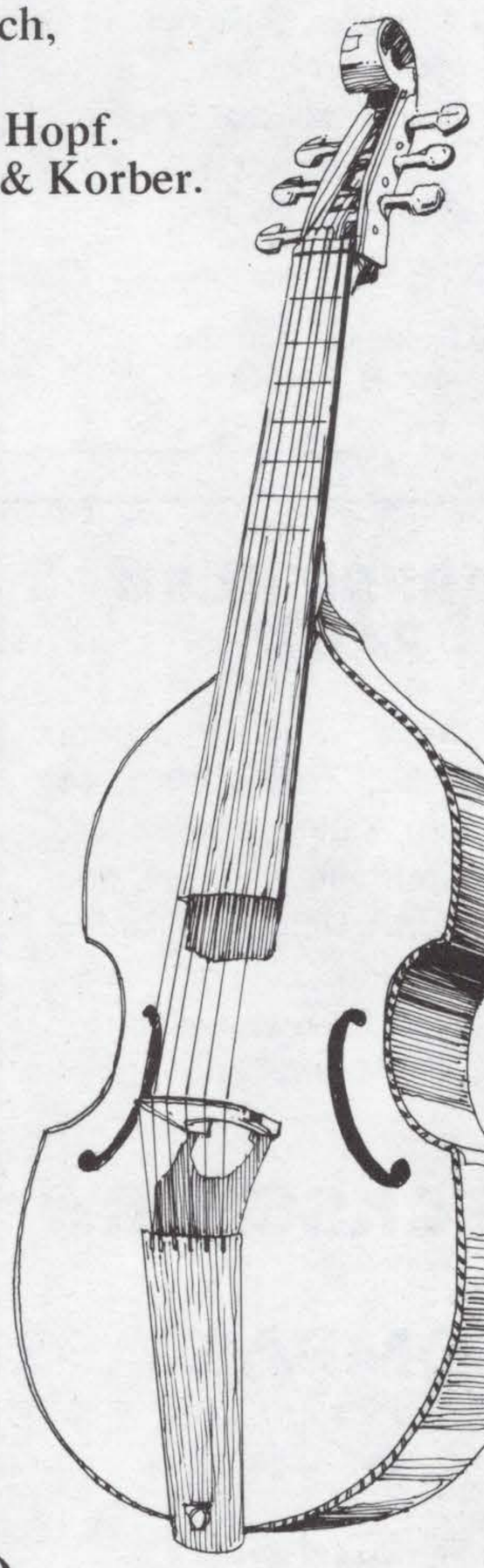

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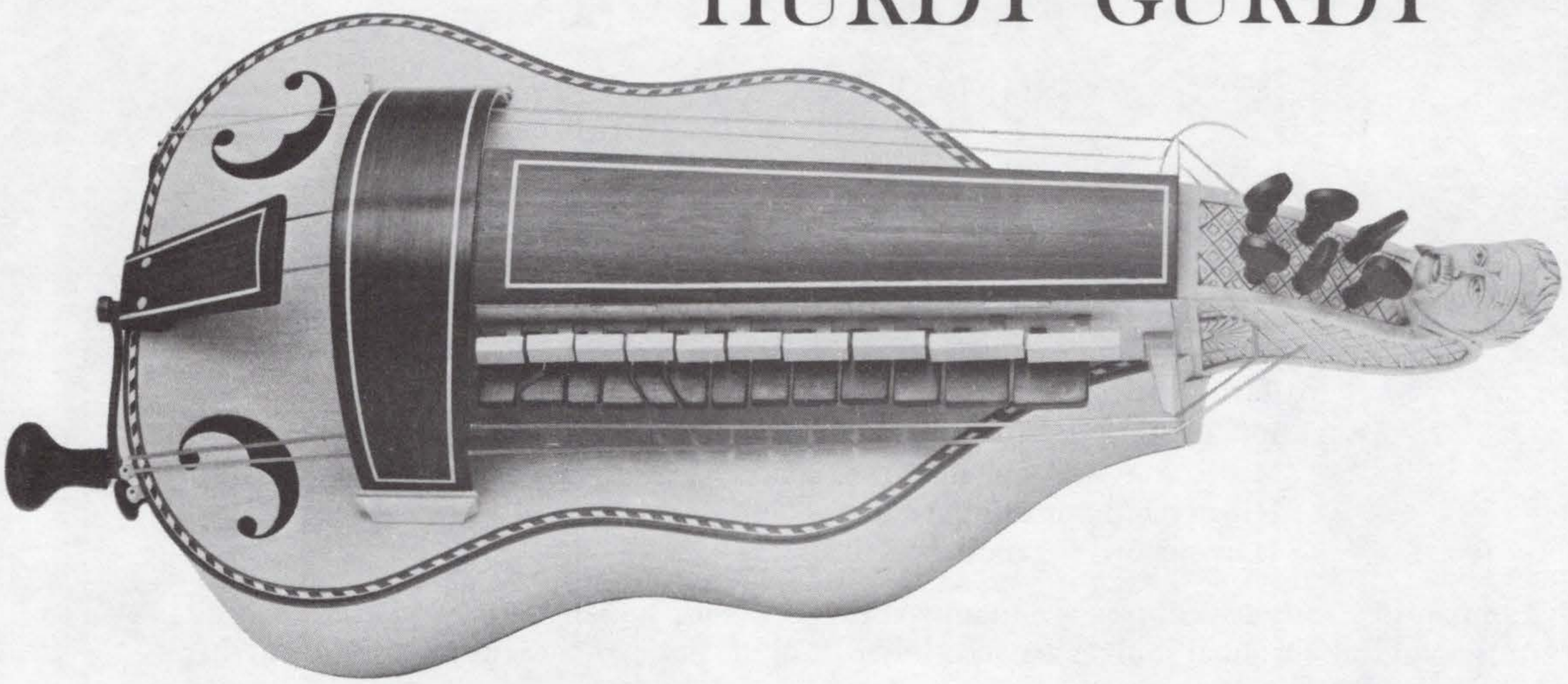

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